



## ***Daily Report***

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# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

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# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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25 June 1990

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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### Chissano Discusses Renamo at La Baule Summit

AB2106181090 Dakar PANA in English 1656 GMT  
21 Jun 90

[Text] La Baule, (France), 21 June (AIM)—Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano on Thursday reaffirmed his determination to continue the search for peace in Mozambique. Speaking at a press conference in the French town of La Baule, where the Franco-African Summit has been taking place, Chissano declared "our people and government, and my party, will do everything in our power to re-establish peace in our country, because only in peace can we normalise everything".

He explained to the journalists the circumstances leading up to the abortive attempt to start a direct dialogue with the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] bandits in the Malawian city of Blantyre on June 12. (Despite agreeing to the time and place, bandit leader Afonso Dhlakama left Blantyre before so much as sitting down at the table with the Mozambican delegation.) Chissano said that, in order to break the impasse, further contacts were under way so that a fresh attempt may be made to start the dialogue.

"Although I am a long way away, so that right now I am not fully up to date on the situation, what is certain is that we will end up by indeed holding the dialogue," said the Mozambican leader.

He accused Renamo of making preconditions out of matters which should be discussed at the negotiating table itself. (The bandits' main preconditions, sprung suddenly upon the Mozambican Government earlier in June, are for the removal of Zimbabwean troops from Mozambique, and for an end to the Mozambican Army's offensive against Renamo positions in the central provinces of Manica and Sofala).

### Meets Foreign Heads of State

MB2106185490 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1730 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Today in France President Joaquim Chissano held separate meetings with Presidents Aristides Pereira of Cape Verde, who is also current coordinator of the five lusophone African countries; Nino Vieira of Guinea-Bissau; and Francois Mitterrand of France, as well as King Hassan II of Morocco. Chissano had lunch on King Hassan's luxurious yacht. This was the first meeting between the Mozambican head of state and the Moroccan monarch.

The situation in our continent, and particularly the recent developments in southern Africa, are believed to have been at the center of the meetings. The Mozambican leader today also read the UN Human Rights Declaration for a French company which produces documentaries.

At a news conference attended by journalists from Radio France International and the BBC, as well as from the

LIBERATION and AFRICA newspapers, President Chissano spoke of his participation in the Franco-African summit and the Mozambican peace process.

As for Mozambique's presence at the summit, Chissano said that Mozambique had attended the event before but that this was the first time that a head of state had taken part. He said Mozambique's participation was in response to French assistance to Mozambique's development.

On the peace initiatives, Chissano explained the reasons for the aborted direct talks between the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in Malawi this month. He said there were good prospects for talks soon and that contacts were continuing. [passage omitted]

### Reportage on 16th Franco-African Summit

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For further reportage on 16th Franco-African Summit in La Baule, France, including reports on African leaders and delegations attending the summit, see the France or International Affairs section of the 20 June West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

### ICCO Advisory Group Ends Meeting in Ghana

AB2106205090 Dakar PANA in English 0928 GMT  
21 Jun 90

[Text] Accra, 21 June (GNA/PANA)—A three-day meeting of the International Cocoa Organization (ICCO) advisory group on the world cocoa economy ended in Accra Wednesday with a call on consumers and producers to help end crisis in the market. Daniel Francis Annan, a member of Ghana's ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) told delegates that the persistent fall in world cocoa prices demands that producers and consumers look for and implement new strategies or enhance existing ones which will benefit both parties. "In the final analysis it is in everybody's interest that there should be fair priced at reasonable prices," Annan said.

Cocoa prices have fallen to their lowest levels in several years weighed down by excess beans estimated at some 1.3 million tonnes. Annan urged delegates to objectively assess in the point of helping producers process some of their cocoa.

He also urged participants to consider the need for cooperation and financing of cocoa research which has not received much attention in the past. Annan repeated that there was need to look seriously into the possible expansion of the cocoa market taking into consideration the potential of a vast untapped market in Eastern Europe, China, and India.

The meeting was attended by some 70 delegates from 17 producing and consuming countries including Ghana, Nigeria, Cote D'Ivoire, Malaysia, the Netherlands, the United States, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, West Germany, and France.

## Ethiopia

### Mengistu Addresses 4th National Shengo Plenum

EA2206172890 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 1700 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Address by President Mengistu Haile Mariam to the fourth regular plenum of the National Shengo in Addis Ababa—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear members of the National Shengo, participants of this special Shengo, elderly fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, comrades: peace is a prerequisite for a single people to maintain their integrity and continue their development. Hence it is to this issue of our country's peace that the Shengo has already given its utmost attention. Yet even then, we have not been blessed with the good results which our attention and our people's eagerness towards this end have merited.

Moreover, due to the intensified war by the secessionist group [Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF] and the Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF] group, our Shengo, in its second emergency plenum held in November 1989, has already passed resolutions on ways and means of alleviating the sufferings of the people after assessing the peace effort and the problems which faced it. In this respect, we have been doing everything possible to push ahead with the already initiated peace effort along with defending ourselves in the war waged against the country in the field.

As has been made public several times, the peace effort has not been given the utmost commitment which it deserves by all the groups. It has become evident in practice that the groups have decided to coordinate and intensify the war so as to attain their goals. The secessionists declared war on one of our Red Sea coast ports, Mitsiwa, for the sake of which we have paid sacrifices since time immemorial, trying to preserve it at a time when it was the only route for the passage of relief supplies aimed at saving the lives of our drought-stricken compatriots. And the Weyane group has intensified its war from Tigray, spreading it to Welo, Gonder, and areas of northern Shewa. This is a clear testimony to the decisions of the groups.

Hence, we are currently engaged in a decisive war between our army which stands for the sovereignty of Ethiopia on the one hand, and the groups which are declared enemies of Ethiopia, supported and pressurized by foreign anti-Ethiopian forces, on the other. This has become a decisive war which will more than ever before determine the unity and sovereignty of Ethiopia. Hence, this National Shengo is expected to assess the current security of our country and to give the people a true picture.

The Ethiopian people and every Ethiopian citizen, who has elected us to represent them, have to have a proper understanding of the conspiracy being carried out

against Ethiopia's existence and they should decide urgently what should be done to safeguard its security and integrity.

Dear deputies, as is evident to all and as has been stated at opportune times, the current major problem and obstacle to development is the war. The cause of the continuing conflict is the fratricidal war waged by narrow tribalist groups on the one hand and the opposition groups who stand in fear of bloodletting on the other.

The cause of the unity and development of Ethiopia, of equality for her nationalities, and of mutual development is not just the stand of the government, the party or some limited sides only, as the opposition groups claim, but the stance, wishes, and beliefs of the entire Ethiopian people.

Though the secessionists are trying to confuse the people by various propaganda means, their bitterness is based on a knowledge of the firm stand for Ethiopian unity which has opposed them solidly for nearly 30 years. The secret of this firm unity of Ethiopians is a mystery not only to the secessionists but also to those foreign anti-Ethiopian forces who have deployed and supported and pressurized the secessionists. There is no plan the secessionists and the Weyanes have not drawn up to stop the Ethiopian people from opposing their antiunity activities and to lure them into cooperating with them in dismembering Ethiopia.

In particular, in the past years, they have held the Dergue responsible for all the problems in the country. In addition, they have been naming names who they say are the major cause of the problems in the country.

Really, to whom are they opposed? Truly, are they working to better the Ethiopian people? Are not those whom they represent working against Ethiopia and denigrating their compatriots?

In fact, it is undeniable that there is currently a republican government, established in our country through the participation and support of the people. Clearly there are some of us from the Dergue, due to the services we have rendered to the nation, who are elected to serve in the republic like any other Ethiopia. But this cannot bring into doubt that a republican government has been established.

By the way, does the opposition to military personnel serving in their country's government stem from a concern for Ethiopia? Is it something new for military personnel in various countries to take part in politics and in leadership as well? The Dergue, during the first years of the revolution, speedily mobilizing its army, saved the country from a historic defeat in the years-long aggression against our motherland. Its participation in bringing about the implementation of major activities and uprooting the backward feudal regime, with popular participation and struggle, prepared the ground for the



supremacy of the people. This cannot be erased from the chapters of our country's history.

Our clear objective—Ethiopia first without any bloodshed—was aimed at the prestige and prosperity of the country and compatriots. It was our wish to base our country's relations with neighboring countries not on war but on the mutual interest of the peoples. The international policy we mapped out was that of nonalignment. In general, our national and foreign policy was in favor of development and peace. Based on this plan and with good hope, it was possible to ease the tension in which our country was involved and the threat posed from the surrounding areas, and it was possible to set up structures to historical development which will have a lasting impact upon the country. It was not easy, however, to move our country quickly toward a better and stable peace and development. During the early days of our revolution, we were faced with various problems caused by the terror which was intensified by secessionist groups who have been out for many years to dismember Ethiopia. Untold devastation has been caused by the conspiracy they unleashed for continuous opposition and untold bloodshed. Indeed, it is undeniable that the Dergue, like any other government, was not free from weakness. It is well-known by our people that due to this weakness, there was a great struggle within the Dergue itself. In general however, the Dergue, fulfilled its promises, which were genuinely made during social tribulations, whenever possible.

Though the enemy is trying to confuse people by talking of the Dergue government, a basic democratic and popular system has been established in our country. The ground has been prepared, according to our Constitution, for the people to fulfill their interests.

Incidentally, why do the secessionists, who have been trying to destabilize Ethiopian unity for about 30 years, continuously lament that their problems are the fault of the Dergue, and they are so and so? Are the causes and inspiration of its objective to plunge the people into suffering and war really the ones at which it points its finger? The Dergue was not in existence 30 years ago. The Workers Party of Ethiopia was not established then. We were not in power then. How then is it that we are the cause of the secessionists' acts of destruction, which were taking place for many years before our existence? Can these reasons really justify its recent burning of expectant mothers and children by locking them in a house, in the pretext of belonging to a certain tribe, after they had infiltrated from a neighboring country into Asosa town, slaughtering hospital patients like animals, and its similar acts in the eastern parts of our country after they had infiltrated from a neighboring country?

Even the Weyane group—which hides its true objectives by propaganda and portrays itself as concerned for Ethiopia—are its acts not evidence that it has an anti-Ethiopia stance? It is clear that this group's objective and primary mission is the Eritrea's secession; its secondary objective is to dismember the rest of Ethiopia in order to

achieve its major objective and to prove this it is engaged in an intensive struggle. It is clear that its struggle is for the death of Ethiopia and not for its development. Whatever reason it gives, and despite fabricating its own history to show that Ethiopia was created within the past 100 years, its objective is to completely dismember this fictional 100 year-old Ethiopia.

Although the secessionist group and the Weyane group are using various confusing propaganda methods, their bitterness emanates from a hatred for those preventing them from fulfilling their objectives to dismember our unity. It is anger and annoyance that has caused their bitterness. Will the Ethiopian people really sacrifice peace, prosperity, and unity for complacency? What greater role is expected from this leadership than that of preserving the sovereignty and unity of Ethiopia, and the dignity of the people, and defending them against these messengers of doom?

The secessionists and Weyanes claim that what they are doing is good for Ethiopia. If this were true, then there would be no need for us to choose to struggle to preserve the unity and sovereignty of the country, which calls for a great and bitter struggle. Are these secessionists and Weyanes really advocates of the Ethiopian people and gallant fighters for democracy, as they try to tell the Ethiopian people while they conduct unrestrained propaganda with the help of their masters outside the country? Incidentally, are these masters, who supply them with arms, advocates of Ethiopian unity, security, and democracy? Contrary to their arrogant belief that the Ethiopian people will not understand their conspiracy, their basic objective is very clear for those who patiently look at developments. I think the following evidence is sufficient to reveal that what they propagate does not reflect their true colors and objectives:

1. Their stance, clearly stipulated in their program or document, is that as Eritrea has been colonized by Ethiopia, they will liberate it or dismember it. They have been using various reasons and confusing people with various presentations. Finally they stuck their nuns on the issue of colonialism. This was not done without a reason. It has been done with the objective of fulfilling their aim of secession, by portraying the issue as one of colonialism and by claiming that liberation is supported by all and that it is in line with the objective reality of Ethiopia.

2. Apart from intensifying the war in Eritrea to fulfill their objectives, they want to use the Weyane as a tool and springboard for the realization of their objectives. Their act of seriously carrying out fratricidal war in Ethiopia by infiltrating from neighboring countries and intensifying the bloodletting in the rest of Ethiopia is their major act which cannot be concealed by any confusing propaganda.

3. They use terror, to continue the war and carry out acts of sabotage in order to try to cripple peaceful activities. Moreover to add insult to injury, they take citizens

hostage through famine and hunger so as to make the people give up hope and bow to their wishes, without any consideration for the suffering of the people.

4. In a bid to conceal their war-mongering attitudes, they try to appear as peaceseekers. However, their stance and acts of obstructing the peace process so as to continue the suffering of the people have revealed their true identity.

The Weyane group has long been the greatest traitor in threatening the existence of our country. This group, beside collaborating with the secessionists hand-in-glove to make the sacrifices paid by the Ethiopian people for the unity of the country useless, are also attempting to dismember Tigray from the rest of the country and spread the war from Tigray to other peaceful parts of neighboring areas through its barbarous stance. In this respect, it is clear to every Ethiopian how enormous the damage has been, and it is still working for further damage. As is known, tribal conflicts and bloodletting are not the way to achieve democracy and prosperity but on the contrary are acts of backwardness, treason, and cheap acts opposed to peace and development.

We have tried to explain on previous occasions about the damage and bloodletting caused by the Weyane war by a very few mercenaries who grew up in Eritrea and, through the pressures of the historic foreign enemies of Ethiopia in collaboration with the Tigray conspirators, which culminated in the war in Tigray. The current Weyane group, which was established from the outset with a narrow objective, organized the youths of Tigray and mobilized them under an anti-Ethiopia stance for Eritrea's secession. This has been confirmed by history and by its acts. The acts of this group as an instrument for Eritrea's secession have often been exposed and currently have forcibly isolated the Tigray people from other compatriots, so they cannot share their pleasure and sorrow with the rest of Ethiopia. They have tried to use the famine relief which the government and various donor organizations are sending to save the lives of famine victims as a tool to fulfill their war objectives, and are forcing the Tigray people to serve as cannon fodder for their fratricidal war. This is part of the evidence of their evil activities. The Weyane group, after disrupting the lives of the Tigray people, in collaboration with their creator, the so-called shabiyyah [EPLF] and the havoc they have created in the rest of Ethiopia by intensifying the war, cannot be mentioned lightly.

Unless the war is halted immediately—and particularly the war by the Weyane group, which has been intensified in all areas by the mercenaries it has created and organized under different names to carry out acts of harassment and terrorism and exposing people to untold suffering—then the consequences will not end now but will be passed onto future generations.

Although the Weyane group changes its name at different times and places to fulfill its objectives, its identity and basic objective remains as it has been from the outset, and as it has been repeatedly stated, that is to

threaten the unity of Ethiopia and dismember the country. This group was initiated by students of Tigray parents and was named Association of Progressive Tigray Nationals [mabbere geggisit bibhere tiray]. Since it started its activities under this name, it has changed its name to Front for the Struggle of the Liberation of Tigray, Tigray People's Liberation Front, Struggle for the Liberation of the Tigray People, and Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray and was spilling the blood of our citizens since the early days of the revolution by roaming around the towns and villages of Ethiopia.

Then it created the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement, EPDM, which comprised remnants of the Ethiopian People's Democratic Party which escaped the arms of the people and became entrenched in Asimba [mountainous area of Tigray Region] and came up with the new Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF. This group's basic mission from the outset has remained the same and it is even intensifying its activities. This basic objective is Eritrea's secession of and dismembering the unity of Ethiopia.

The new conspiracy it has recently adopted to fulfill its objectives is to use the names of various nationalities and claim that an organization of such and such a nationality has been established and that another front for the liberation of one or another nationality has been formed and created a front with the TPLF. In this manner it is continuing its confusing propaganda.

All this conspiracy in the name of a liberation movement of one nationality and a democratic front of such and such, and the machinations to divide the Ethiopian people along tribal lines and carry on with the fratricidal war and destruction are aimed at creating a rift among nationalities in the name of ridiculing one nationality by another. One of the instruments to fulfill all these conspiracies is the false propaganda of the right to self-determination. If there is a need for the right to self-determination, then it should include the formation of an isolated entity and these people should be liberated from the yoke of colonialism.

If there are some weaknesses and (?strong) sides in our history, then Ethiopia is a country of ancient civilization, of a proud and gallant people, a country exemplary in its unity and liberation struggle, a country untouched and unviolated among the black world. It is not one or another nationality which gave it these attributes, rather this confidence, culture and source of pride and history came through the collective love, sacrifice, and contribution of all the nationalities and all religious denominations. This was recorded not only by us but by various internationally renowned historians.

The new generation, instead of strengthening these good virtues, uses a confusing and destructive political term—the right to self-determination—at a wrong time and place and takes advantage of it. This is tantamount to committing an unparalleled crime. Instead of trying to create harmony, a small number of individuals use the

ideology of the right to self-determination and create unresolved conflict and terror for the sake of satisfying their greed for power and quenching their thirst for leadership by dividing one people along tribal lines. I think it is better to leave judgment to the people and to history to identify the meaning and objective of this motive. But this does not mean that the Ethiopian people, who have been struggling in unity and were making history, should not expand the meaning and horizons of democracy in unity. But this should not be based on backward and divisive religious or tribalistic lines, but on logical and political lines.

It is unquestionable that full democratic rights are a prerequisite for the stable life and development of any people. The destruction of the existence of one people on the pretext of democracy and the principle of the right to self-determination cannot be called democracy. In today's Ethiopia, there is no one nationality or follower of one belief or another that has a special role in society. For instance, is not our National Shengo—which is the highest organ of power of the Ethiopian people as you can all see and understand—the outcome of the participation of members of different religious denominations? Is it not an organization which embraces the development of democratic administration in the administrative areas and even in the autonomous regions? Can there be anyone who suspects that there is a policy of discrimination anywhere within the government?

On the contrary, it is evident that those who want to use this as a pretext and to continue the dismemberment of Ethiopia are the ones who are sowing the seeds of discord and rift among peoples. Anti-Ethiopian forces are using some of the situations that our country has passed through and are saying that one tribe has done this or that against another nationality to divide the people and cause chaos. But the fact is that most of the acts carried out in the past were not those of one nationality but those of various nationalities at different times.

Kings who reigned in the northern part of the country ruled beyond the current known boundaries of Ethiopia. Ethiopia has long been ruled from the northwestern part of Ethiopia as the seat of the central government. The period Ethiopia has been administered from the central and southeastern parts of the country is not short. Petty rulers have also tried to implement their powers in various parts of the country. It is an undeniable historical fact that different nationalities and religious denominations have had a tangible role at different times. The crux of the matter is that our country, Ethiopia, like any other country, has gained its current geographical shape by passing through the tribulations of the past.

There is nothing to be gained by any of our nationalities trying to pick a leaf from past historical traditions in an attempt to sow the seeds of discord among peoples, using this as a pretext to dismember the country. What is best for all of us is to work out how we can come out of the current tribulations and forge ahead in peaceful coexistence and mutual respect. How can we work together for

the benefit of all? How can we escape from backwardness and rescue our nation from the list of backward nations and move it forward? This must be the current burning issue in our country.

Throughout the world, current efforts are not to dismember a country and disperse the people of one country who are living in harmony but to assist different peoples who are cooperating for mutual benefit and can be united to merge and unite. This is our stance and our objective. The recent reunification of the peoples of North and South Yemen is a living example of this. For my part, I greatly envy them. I also praise them greatly. The reunification initiative of the East and West German peoples is another current example. The efforts of the two Koreas is the same thing. It is also possible to cite examples of other countries whose objective is to come closer and cooperate.

On the contrary, as if the conspiracy and atrocities carried out to divide the people and create a fratricidal war in our country is not enough, the secessionists and Weyanes are working hard for more serious destruction. Unless this very dangerous trend is halted, every Ethiopian should understand what the results could be.

It is nothing new for the citizens of a country to have different political views, but in the case of our country, through various means and conspiracies, Ethiopians have been made to lose confidence in their citizenship and some of the citizens have even been made to feel ashamed to the extent of serving as tools and servants of the anti-Ethiopian forces. Although the case has been greatly exaggerated, it is undeniable that our country has problems. Its situation is not, however, as bad as has been portrayed with conspiratorial motives by referring to its weaknesses in terms of man-made and natural problems evident in some parts of the country. As we faced an unfavorable situation in terms of using the international media to respond by representing the correct situation in the country, our country, and we ourselves have a negative image.

In this respect, there is nothing that the secessionists [Eritrean People's Liberation Front] and Weyanes [Tigray People's Liberation Front] will not do in collaboration with forces which want to bring down Ethiopia. They want to humiliate the people and denigrate and soil the country's history and honor. Numbers of innocent citizens have been tormented by pictures and names attributed to our country, the revolution, and the leadership. The secessionists and the Weyanes have persecuted citizens who stood firm for Ethiopia's unity and flag by branding them as Dergue spies. They left no stone unturned to kidnap those who advocate Ethiopian unity and to disperse those who were courageous enough to stand for Ethiopian unity. On the contrary, they have been organizing their support and giving them freedom of speech, while mobilizing them for the purposes they want to fulfill.



While they deny the existence of a government which was established constitutionally by popular support, they arrogantly consider themselves democrats and fair when they have forced themselves on the people through the barrel of the gun. They call their tribal might, which is an outmoded and arrogant objective, democratic. They torture, loot, kill, and persecute the people by calling them aliens to the tribe in question. The other surprising issue is that while they are being supported by various alien forces and harming Ethiopia, they strongly condemn Ethiopia's cooperation with various governments with the view of preserving its unity.

The reason for this is clear, and that is that while they are using everything at their disposal to bring anti-Ethiopian forces from outside to destroy Ethiopian unity, they want us to remain without friends and to be weaker to resist their conspiracy. Every genuine Ethiopian should know this.

The other conspiratorial system the secessionists are insisting upon is a system of trying to confuse the people locally and to mislead the international community by saying that the cause of their anti-Ethiopian activities is the government and so and so, while it is very well known that their dream of dismembering Ethiopia was conceived long before the inception of our revolution and our assumption of power. It is true that we are always cited as the cause of the problems because of our ability to organize and coordinate the people so that the country cannot be dismembered and so that their objectives are thwarted. According to their imagination and plan, it was 16 years ago that they arose to dismember Ethiopia. In this respect, these groups and these anti-Ethiopian unity forces should bitterly hate us because we are the people who have stood firm for unity and opposed their objectives. Otherwise, the secessionists, who have no experience of building a country for the past 30 years, might have succeeded in realising their objective of destroying the Ethiopian people, who are firmly fighting for the unity of the country.

What true citizens must coolly realize is that their motherland is on the verge of collapse in the face of various struggle conspiracies mapped out by forces opposed to its unity and sovereignty. I repeat, true citizens must coolly realize that their motherland is on the verge of collapse in the face of various struggle conspiracies mapped out by forces opposed to its unity and sovereignty.

I boldly tried to state these facts in my May Day speech, by reviewing our sad and shameful history, and by saying that if we become too complacent by accepting confusing propaganda and negligence rather than shouldering our historical responsibility, then the damage and historical black spot will have no remedy.

Dear members of the National Shengo: To date, numerous questions and issues have been faced by the great and innumerable sacrifices of brave sons of Ethiopia. However, I can say without exaggeration that to

reverse the dangerous situation our country is in requires the special attention and practical participation of all citizens everywhere. It is not enough to send one's children to the front while making only a limited material contribution oneself and sitting back waiting for the results, as has been the case in the past.

As the war is a civil war, our enemies on the war front are infiltrating our society in several forms to fulfill their objectives. In order to get the expected result from the struggle, there must be enough understanding that we need to be at least a match for the opposing force. I repeat, at least. The sacrifice paid for the struggle to date is very great by any standards. The enemy has gone beyond verbal propaganda to armed struggle and through various activities outside the country—its directions are numerous. Hence, there is no alternative to secure the existence of Ethiopia except by reciprocating in the same way and to the same extent. This issue should be given a better understanding.

Becoming annoyed with and scorning the enemy's exaggerated criticisms or fabricated problems in our country or with our country's genuine weaknesses cannot help in any way to save Ethiopia, which we claim to love dearly and which the enemy is eager to dismember. Simply isolating oneself by giving several reasons or fretting and condemning the enemy will never force the enemy to retreat an inch. The enemy has concerted its efforts and is practically dismembering Ethiopia. Hence, it is only practical and tangible efforts and strong and united arms that will save Ethiopia from dismemberment. The two faces of this effort are to strongly defend ourselves against the merciless war waged by the enemy and to intensify political and similar peaceful activities.

Every citizen should clearly and properly understand that the issue of ably confronting the enemies' pressures is not one to be taken lightly. If the existence of the country is violated, then it is easy to cripple all the other needs of the citizens.

Based on the needs and aspirations of the broad masses, several activities have been accomplished during the years of the revolution. Tangible steps have been taken whereby all citizens are treated equally without discrimination. Recently a new economic policy has been mapped out by the WPE Central Committee which takes the feelings of the people and the current international situation into consideration. Based on these achievements, activities that are beneficial for the people will continue with the full participation of the people themselves.

As the objectives and acts of the enemy are unmistakably aimed at dismembering Ethiopia, using false reasons for all these evils is nothing but adding insult to injury. In the first stage of anti-Ethiopia activity, the secessionists claimed to be Arabs struggling for the interest of Arabs, in order to solicit some advantage from them. Later they claimed to be fighters struggling to overthrow monarchical feudalism in order to solicit support from the

socialist countries and progressive forces. When the revolution began in our country they claimed to be opposed to the expansion of socialism, in order to solicit support from conservative governments. And now, when we are striving to form a wider democratic situation whereby all citizens can work according to his ability under the umbrella of a united Ethiopia, they have actually intensified their activities of dismembering Ethiopia instead of changing their stance.

They are destroying, without mercy, our ancient history and traditional unity which has been preserved by the continued sacrifices of our gallant forefathers and previous generations who fought against foreign aggressors. They are demolishing the foundations which were laid down by the noble blood of gallant Ethiopians in order to allow us to escape from the backward feudal system into a democratic system. What can any Ethiopian individual get from this destructive and dimembering activity? What would our forefathers think, who carried the brunt of World War II and who paid enormous sacrifices before the war for the freedom of the country, when they see that the security and integrity of Ethiopia is being threatened by antiunity groups who have been brought among us?

Incidentally, from where does the strength of the secessionists and Weyanes come? In fact, in a prolonged war and for that matter in a protracted civil war, there can be intimidation of one group by another. It is undeniable that, due to complacency and weaknesses emanating from this situation, the groups can take advantage of the situation. However, the major source of their strength emanates from forces near and far who have long envied the natural resources and wealth of Ethiopia and see Ethiopia's development and strength as opposed to their interests.

They supply them with unlimited and comprehensive support, which is the source of their strength. There are also those who are opposed to the broad-based Ethiopian goal, who are based on tribal lines and supply them from inside and outside the country with everything within their ability, extensively participating in their plans.

As I tried to explain earlier, the objectives of the groups are not as they claim in their propaganda—that is to give everything sweet to Ethiopia. Their acts are evidence of what they have planned and wanted for Ethiopia and its broad masses: to attack the people of Ethiopia for the sake of Eritrean secession, to create a rift among Ethiopians, to disperse them and spread the war from one area to another. This cannot be presented as caring for the security or democracy of Ethiopia. Basically their plan and objective is not based on Ethiopian unity, giving power to all in Ethiopia, and serving every Ethiopian.

In general, the war in which we are engaged is not aimed at taking power for factions or nationalities, or what they call a broader democracy. This is not a power struggle. The basic cause of our fight is our stand that under the umbrella of Ethiopian unity we can solve any of our

problems peacefully. The opposition groups believe that salvation can be achieved through the dismemberment of Ethiopia and that they shall achieve supremacy.

If the problem is that of power, neither me nor any other Ethiopian citizen who is struggling for the existence of Ethiopia can be out of step with the wishes and decisions of the popular democratic initiative, and we have not stood for this. We do not wish for power which is not in line with the interests and wishes of the people. Basically, there is no situation which allows one to impose oneself on the people, not only because of the current problem in our country but even in light of our political system and the democratic nature of the system itself. It is not for this objective that we have fought, toiled, and bled for the last 16 year but rather, to rouse our country from centuries of dormancy and to bring prosperity to our country which is the last of the backward nations.

Our objective has also been to develop our country, which is a land of plenty, and to create people who are organized, conscious, armed, formidable, hardworking, creative, and productive. It is only when there is a popular mandate that there will be service to people. This is our objective and stance. In a democratic system, an individual, a leader, or the government in general can be replaced by a leader and system the people want. This is how it should be. Our efforts to date have been designed to achieve this in Ethiopia.

The dismembering of a country and dividing people along tribal and national lines is destroying the very spirit of existence. We will never support this objective. Hence, it should be the responsibility of all genuine Ethiopians to shoulder their responsibility in all spheres necessary for the security of the people and the sovereignty of the country, which is the foremost task at present. Complacency, giving reasons for our weaknesses, minimizing one's responsibility and looking at the outcome with indifference and criticism alone can never save Ethiopia and its people from the onslaught unleashed by the enemy. This is not my belief at all.

The enemy has intensified its attack on all fronts by using all the resources at its command and is causing havoc to the country both from within and without. Therefore, it is here and now that we have to mobilize ourselves to save Ethiopia if we claim to be the sons of Ethiopia, that we love Ethiopia, and that we stand for the existence of the motherland. Complacency and indifference will not save Ethiopia from the onslaught unleashed by the enemy.

The secessionists and Weyanes, without exaggeration, have almost managed Eritrea's secession from the rest of Ethiopia. If it was not for the decisive fighting by our Revolutionary Army and people's militia, they would have fulfilled their ambition by now. They have intensified the war they unleashed in various parts of the country. They have continued to intensify the war with the unlimited support they receive from anti-Ethiopian



external forces, by infiltrating from neighboring countries and by trying to use the various names of our nationalities to achieve their objectives.

They are working continuously for the downfall of this country by sometimes mixing with genuine citizens. The Ethiopian people are greatly challenged currently by a few secessionist and tribalist Ethiopians who are all out to dismember the country. What is the solution? How can the suffering of the people end? What will be the fate of Ethiopia? These are questions which have filled the thoughts of all genuine Ethiopians. The appropriate answer to these questions is definitely a peaceful solution. A peaceful solution cannot, however, be a one-sided affair. Efforts have been made in this respect, and in particular after the National Shengo mapped out the new peace initiative, and many activities have been carried out.

In this respect, in a bid to bring about a peaceful solution to the problem, we have crossed oceans and gone to Atlanta in the United States, then to Nairobi, Kenya, and to Rome, Italy, not once but three times. We made great efforts in the first round of procedural talks, which was chaired by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and through the efforts of the Italian Government with a view to proceeding to the substantive talks. Even then, the expected result was not achieved.

The major cause of this failure is the refusal of the so-called shabiyyah group to start the substantive talks just because the United Nations could not take part in the talks for technical reasons. Apart from refusing to resume the peace talks, they repeatedly announced in public that they do not believe in the peace talks at all. For its part, the Weyane group, by going back on its word to hold talks, came up with a new idea that it should be accepted as the representative of the Ethiopian people and came out with a different name. Thus the peace efforts could be hampered.

There is one point that should be understood about this group, whose idea of Ethiopia does not include Ethiopia. Basically, the two groups wanted to use the peace talks solely to buy time to prepare for an additional offensive and as propaganda to present themselves as peace-seekers, but not to save the country and the people from devastation and suffering.

As is well known, the peace talks aimed at solving the problems in Eritrea did not start with the so-called shabiyyah group. In order to achieve a lasting solution to the problem, talks started with other opposition groups in Eritrea. In this respect, our government delegation recently held procedural talks from 31 March to 21 April in Sanaa, the capital of the Yemen Arab Republic, with representatives of four jabha [Eritrean Liberation Front] factions who have agreed to produce joint peace proposals in the procedural talks. It was possible to reach understanding on several issues during the first round of these talks. On behalf of the National Shengo, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who

helped us to hold the talks with the group, which produced good results, and all those who have helped in the talks we have held with other opposition groups. I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude to them all.

While the talks with the jabha are aimed at seeking a peaceful solution to the problem and are showing promising a trend, the shabiyyah and the Weyane seem to be aiming at not only hampering the peace talks but are all out to achieve their objectives through force. This has greatly aggravated the situation. In this respect, the great offensive they launched on Mitsiwa port has placed the Eritrea region in a very grave situation. In their plan to spread the war to the hinterland, damage was caused to the lives and property of innocent people and they were displaced. They are also working hard to constrict the people completely. The continuation of the offensive launched in all directions has a bearing on the national economy on top of the immediate devastation it has caused, has aggravated the famine situation, and could cripple the overall economic performance of our nation. It is clear that inciting tribal wars can cause lasting damage to various nationalities. In light of all this, it is undeniable that the consequences will continue for generations unless the war is halted immediately and a lasting solution is found.

At a time when Ethiopia is faced with an unexpected and grave threat, urgently defending it is a very great and decisive responsibility that history and previous generations have bestowed upon genuine and true Ethiopian citizens. Every citizen who does not want the attack carried out in one area to be repeated in others and who does not want the offensive launched on Mitsiwa repeated in Aseb port, should act right now. I do not think that there is a single citizen here who wants to see the downfall of their ancient motherland—Ethiopia.

The decision by every citizen to become mobilized or not will be a determining factor for the existence of Ethiopia. Since the nature and trend of the problem is very clear, all citizens should consult each other and pay the sacrifices needed to save the motherland. At a time when the motherland is threatened, we should not be complacent toward the confusing propaganda of the enemy. What is decisive now is not talk but practical actions. Using empty words while the country is being destroyed by force does not save Ethiopia at all. In fact it confuses those who would save it. Hence we should take care.

There is no alternative to the preservation of the sovereignty of Ethiopia, even if we have to seek peaceful solutions. If the sovereignty and existence of Ethiopia is shattered, we will have no choice of solutions in the peace talks. No matter what the secessionist group says, its objective and stance is unequivocally Eritrea's secession. As can be clearly seen, the dismembering of Ethiopia is the one sure way of realizing their dreams of implementing their objectives. Another event that should be mentioned here is that the secessionist group,

assisted by the Weyane group, is evicting citizens in areas in which it has created havoc, saying, get out of this area as you are aliens, go to your regions, to Tigray and other areas where you belong. These people are being robbed, persecuted, and harassed. The consequence of this act throughout Ethiopia is not hidden from any observant citizen. Who will benefit from these chaotic acts of dismembering the country? Even the Weyane, which is trying to confuse the people by false solutions, has as its objective the dismembering of Ethiopia, oppressing the other Ethiopian nationalities and is also fighting our army.

Attempting to counteract the propaganda they are disseminating cannot bring a lasting solution to the problem as long as their act of dismembering Ethiopia is being carried out in an intensified and dangerous manner. The groups' tactic of creating complacency by propaganda while they are doing what they want in the belief that the lack of awareness of the Ethiopian people allows them to do what they want with the people is of no benefit.

The National Shengo has called upon all opposition groups to come and start the peace talks without any preconditions, and the WPE Central Committee has recently said that they can come and participate in the country's political decisionmaking after accepting the single entity of the Ethiopian democratic process and can enjoy full participation by popular decision. Therefore, there is no alternative to thwarting the attack that has brought our country to the verge of collapse if we are to have genuine talks and end the problems.

Dear Deputies: It is the responsibility and obligation of citizens to defend our country against attack. The issue of defense has become urgent. Hence, this steadfast struggle to thwart the dismemberment of the country cannot be taken lightly. Apart from opening our doors to a peaceful solution, we have taken bold steps to create favorable conditions for it. Among the resolutions of the 11th regular session of the WPE Central Committee was the most prominent decision that ensured that opposition groups can participate as organizations in national politics peacefully without contradicting the popular and national interests. But this assurance did not receive a good response, just as had been the case with our other constructive efforts. The so-called shabiyyah group, instead of accepting the reality, rejected the call outright. The Weyane group distorted the contents of the call and started behaving as if they were forced to participate in the newly proposed Ethiopian Democratic Unity Party, contrary to our call.

Even now there is one point that should be known clearly: in accordance with the decisions of the 11th regular session of the WPE Central Committee, any opposition group, by accepting the unity of the country, can participate in the country's politics, on the basis of agreements reached at peace talks and after approval by the people. For our part, we shall not refrain from making efforts that will bring about peace and alleviate the suffering of our people. Even now, with a view to

ending the war and bringing peace to the country, we are still awaiting the genuine response of the opposition groups to the question of whether they are prepared to enter into peace talks on the basis of the democratic unity of Ethiopia and for the sake of one people.

Dear Deputies: The major issues of attention in our congress are:

1. Inasmuch as the coordinated war of the secessionist group and the Weyanes group has placed Ethiopia in very grave danger, more than ever before, and that the country's existence has priority over a proper peaceful solution, the broad masses of Ethiopia cannot sit back and watch while all-out efforts are being made to implement this conspiracy to humiliate the people. We must therefore create a situation whereby the country's integrity will be defended in a strengthened manner. We must also assess ways and means of distributing relief supplies to the drought victims and map out strategy to take steps to implement it.

2. To issue appropriate directives on the legal implementation of the new economic policy decree issued by the 11th regular session of the WPE Central Committee aimed at bringing our country peace and development and related matters. In this respect, the State Council has already issued various decrees and laws to supplement the new investment decree. It is believed that this National Shengo will assess its agenda and make decisions after open discussions with the full participation of the citizens to make tangible contribution towards the preservation of our country's sovereignty.

In this respect, and above all, the crucial issue is to face and thwart the arrogant war being waged against our country by the secessionists and Weyanes, a war from which even they cannot benefit, but one which will plunge our country into chaos. At this moment, as we are deliberating what is good for our country, Ethiopian heroes are fighting against anti-Ethiopian unity forces.

In areas where there is no peace, people are faced with great difficulties on the one hand and a great fight is being carried out with the enemy on the other. In some areas, there were some individuals who were misled by the conspiratorial enemy propaganda and who led the enemy and assisted and worked for it to destroy their country, even to the extent of losing their lives.

In general there is much being done in the northern part of our country for the downfall of Ethiopia. This conspiracy and destructive act is being assisted from outside and it is not difficult to see how grave the situation will be come. The danger currently looming over our country's unity and sovereignty should never be taken lightly. The danger looming over it is not limited to some areas, but it is evident that it is threatening the unity of the whole country. It would be good if it was possible to sit back and wish everything was all right and that one could obtain peace and honor. We were not lucky enough, however, to get this during our forefathers' time or during current times. We have no alternative yet to

defending and fighting until Ethiopia's enemies refrain from dismembering it. Today we are more than ever before ready to defend ourselves. We can say without any exaggeration that we have laid the necessary foundations toward this end. The question here is, how can we build on this foundation and bring it to a stage where we will be respected for it?

In this respect, I am confident that every genuine Ethiopian will give a tangible response to the concrete questions that we are faced with, questions which we did not willingly bring up but for the sake of the sovereignty of our country. The decisive factor here is the cooperation of the entire population in one direction genuinely to thwart the conspiracy of the few elements and negate the problems they have unleashed against us. Therefore, in order to reliably face the protracted direct and indirect war unleashed against us by the secessionists, Weyanes, and anti-Ethiopian forces, and to achieve solutions peacefully, every Ethiopian should ensure that they carry out their share of responsibility without awaiting the actions of others. The nature of the struggle requires an understanding that it needs the sacrifice of the entire Ethiopian population, not a limited number of citizens. This should be implemented in practice. In particular, the youth who wish to see and inherit a respected country should decide to mobilize to thwart the current dismembering of Ethiopia by the arrogant groups. This is their historical responsibility.

Inasmuch as failure to understand this decisive moment of history will render the situation irretrievable, subsequent criticism will be unable to heal a historical scar. Accordingly, those of us who claim to be Ethiopians, without prompting or encouragement—I repeat: without prompting or encouragement—must mobilize today and now, in practice. I greatly urge, greatly urge, every Ethiopian on behalf of this National Shengo to understand and work to bring about a lasting peace in a genuinely peaceful manner, for only if the country continues to exist will it be possible to resolve these issues and the others. [applause]

Dear Deputies: As was mentioned in the first part of this report and is officially known, our objective when we started with the slogan Ethiopia first [Ethiopia tikkem] was to bring an end to the outmoded feudal system and achieve the development of our country through the democratic path of progress. We were forced to take up our guns to preserve the country's sovereignty, and the laws and systems of the society only when we found out that there was no other alternative to defend ourselves against attack. It was only when the country's boundaries were violated by hundreds of kilometers, Asmera town was besieged within seven kilometers for the secession of Eritrea, and killings in broad daylight were being carried out, including terror in some towns such as Addis Ababa, that we were compelled to use force to defend ourselves. Even then, we made unreserved peaceful efforts in a bid to bring about peace and realize the society's development wishes.

However, external forces who wish to control Ethiopia, as they did in previous centuries, have not refrained from interfering in our internal affairs. In addition to the wrongs they are perpetrating against us, they have been carrying out unrestrained propaganda designed to portray matters as if we are antipeace. In particular, a group which was working for the secession of Eritrea in collaboration with the Weyane has been claiming that our government was not willing to see peace prevail, that it believes in a military solution to problems and, moreover, that it benefits from the lack of peace. This was being spread both inside and outside the country.

It is to be recalled that we have been making successive contacts with the so-called shabiyyah secessionist group to start the peace talks, and of late started official talks with it. Similarly, we have started official talks with the Weyane group. As we can see from the stalled talks and the intensified war situation, the groups are ready to propagate that they are peaceseekers, but are not ready to pay the sacrifices that peace demands. This should be properly understood by our people. Any side can use unending flowery words about peace. These words, however, are aimed at soliciting support and cheating innocent people, and do not contribute in any way to the attainment of peace.

For instance, the Weyane group claims that peace can only be achieved by the secession of Eritrea, and the shabiyyah believes that there will never be peace before Eritrea secedes. For our part, we believe that peace must be attained under the umbrella of Ethiopian unity, and there will be no peace by secession. This is our belief. For its part, the Weyane group believes that peace will only be achieved in Ethiopia when Eritrean secedes, and the rest of Ethiopia is dismembered and falls under its yoke. Their peace will come either by their suppression or by the false political system, the so-called right to self-determination in which a government is set up in every village under the guise of nationalities and the country is dismembered. This is their peace. If there is one issue that every Ethiopian should understand it is that the Weyane group is the tool and sole responsible agent for the unexpected deterioration of the country's unity.

The Weyane has served the secessionist group as a source of manpower and as a spy by creating trouble for the government in the hinterland and by disturbing the peace in general. It has acted as a major tool in preparing the ground for the secession the shabiyyah is currently aiming for. This should be very well understood by the people. The Weyane alone has the ability to do anything. It is not, however, superior to the Ethiopian defense capability.

One surprising aspect of this group is that it strongly condemns individuals and international observers and governments who believe that the solution for Ethiopian problems should be found under the umbrella of Ethiopian unity. It does this in the name of serving the shabiyyah group. The other surprising aspect of the Weyane group is that, while it has such an anti-Ethiopian



stance and is fighting to implement this on the one hand, it clearly appears to be concerned for Ethiopia on the other. If its claims to be Ethiopian are true, and it is really concerned about Ethiopia, why does it collaborate with an enemy opposed to Ethiopian sovereignty, fighting and bleeding the country? It is the Weyane which played the greatest role during our Red Star Campaign [Government campaign against the EPLF in 1982] to hijack the victory our Army had scored.

It is clear that the recent intensive fighting for the control of Massawa was a concerted effort and was coordinated by both groups. It is also clear that it was because of the concerted and coordinated offensive by both groups that our army suffered the unexpected devastation. How then is it that the Weyane can be called an Ethiopian organization? Is it possible practically to destroy the country and yet still claim to be Ethiopian? If it is really concerned for Ethiopia, would it not at least have refused to collaborate with the enemy? If it is really concerned, why did its deeds not match its words? This is why we say that in nature and practice it is the most dangerous of any group for Ethiopian unity. If it wishes to contribute its share in a sovereign Ethiopia, then it must refrain from acts that dismember Ethiopian unity and must show practically that it stands for the preservation of Ethiopian unity.

The people must know that it is this Weyane group which has escalated the Eritrean problem to its current level, and if things get worse it will not just be due to the so-called shabiyyah group's resources and attacks alone, but those of the Tigray traitors. We are convinced that now that international efforts are being stepped up to end the people's sufferings and to solve peace problems peacefully, that it is worth making efforts to bring about peace. We shall not allow peace to elude us.

In this respect, we have been making unreserved efforts to hold peace talks with all the opposition groups. The so-called shabiyyah group and the Weyane have, however, as we said earlier in the report, made it clear that they will use force to bring their objectives to realization, and they will not participate in peace talks. The talks about solving the Eritrean problem stalled because of the demand for UN participation.

Nonparticipation by the United Nations was not a problem created by the Ethiopian Government, but, it should be understood, it was due to the rules governing the international organization. Even so, the government went out of its way to save the peace talks from collapse by inviting the United Nations and taking advantage of its UN membership, and appropriate action was taken. The response of the shabiyyah to the invitation of the mediators was to abandon the peace talks and resort to the battlefield. The shabiyyah's response calls for immediate decisions and the mobilization of the Ethiopian people, and this will be the major task of this congress. I repeat: The shabiyyah's response to the invitation of the mediators was to abandon the peace talks and resort to

the battlefield. This response calls for immediate decisions and the mobilization of the whole Ethiopian people, and this will be the major task of this congress.

We also realized we must take appropriate additional steps to alleviate the sufferings of our famine stricken people in the northern part of the country who are unable to satisfy their daily needs because of the drought and the war. To supply relief to the drought victims, we permitted the use of Mitsiwa port as a corridor for relief supplies in collaboration with the various donor organizations. We thus improved the transportation of food and consumer goods.

To ensure the smooth implementation of this operation we also called on the United Nations to participate in the operation, and we received international support for these efforts. However, in disregard of the people's suffering and international opinion, the secessionists responded negatively.

What must be made clear now is that the assault on Mitsiwa was launched expressly to obstruct the plans we earlier made with relevant governmental and nongovernmental organizations, including the United Nations, to transport adequate relief supplies through Aseb in the south and Mitsiwa in the north in time to save the people in Eritrea. However, soon after the invasion of Mitsiwa, the Weyane's and shabiyyah's escalation of the war in southern Eritrea began to hamper the land transportation of humanitarian aid to Eritrea.

I mentioned earlier that we received international support for our actions in this respect. By claiming that I withdrew from the peace talks due to the nonparticipation of the United Nations as an observer, and refusing to attend the talks after the United Nations agreed to take part, the shabiyyah clearly revealed its character. It has, in the face of the world, proved that its cries for peace were mere rhetoric. How many people have been misled by this group in the name of peace both at home and abroad? By portraying itself as a peaceseeker, how much devastation has it caused by collecting aid to doom and dismember Ethiopia?

Is it not the shabiyyah's actions that portray its true character rather than what it disseminates? Its unbridled arrogance currently poses a grave threat to Ethiopia's sovereignty to the extent that it is now a burning national issue to which all genuine Ethiopians must give priority and devote all their resources. Hesitation in this respect will constitute a blot on the history of this generation.

However, none of this can affect our efforts, which constitute the discharge of the responsibility vested in us by this generation. The problem is that peace cannot be attained by one group in isolation. Our opponents have never been committed to peace. Our country's unity and peace is not beset exclusively by internal problems. Negotiations alone cannot bring about a solution. Unless the goodwill of those who encourage, deploy, and supply the opposition groups with massive quantities of high

quality materiel is withdrawn, negotiations alone cannot bring about an effective peace.

It is clear that foreign interference in our country has a longstanding history. Therefore when seeking solutions, one must take account of this situation correctly. Our problems are related to the proliferating problems of our neighbors. All of you present here know this perfectly well. The Horn of Africa has not been at peace for a long time. It cannot be said that the destabilization of one country will bring peace to another. Inasmuch as all the countries of the region, including Ethiopia, are beset by problems requiring a genuine common solution applied by all concerned, we, for our part, officially affirm our readiness at this opportune time to act positively toward this end. We have repeatedly called on those concerned to refrain from inciting destruction in the countries of the region and to act to bring about peaceful coexistence because we believe that there is much scope for cooperating with our neighbors in various development sectors for the benefit of our peoples and hope that will be taken advantage of such opportunities.

Dear Deputies: In today's Ethiopia, only when we are united and undivided by nationalities, beliefs, or any other factor and can use our unity as a foundation shall we be able to bring about development and preserve our freedom. Only when our unity is weakened and undermined will the enemy be able to impose his demands on us. We can put the enemy to shame, forge ahead and obtain the respect and love of others by way of our unity, but not by way of disunity and weakness. This fact should be properly understood. The product of our unity based on equality is peace.

Our expatriate compatriots, to salve their consciences should contribute towards the unity and existence of their compatriots. I would like to take this opportunity to say that mother Ethiopia expects them to step out of their isolation, fully exercise their rights as citizens, prove practically that they are the rightful owners of their country and participate in its affair. [applause]

The basis for the implementation of the new economic policy devised after considering our domestic situation and international trends and guided by our concept of our country's democratic unity is a reliable working system based on Ethiopian unity. Our reference to unity should not be construed as relating to a single nation but as relating to all nations, continents, and even beyond in the mutual interests of all.

If we desire unity based on equality it is because we Ethiopians need a basic guarantee for our continued existence. Like every other country, ours is the product of history, a history thousands of years old, and not of a century as alleged by the Weyanes. Evidence for this is our visible historical heritage and holy books which have been verified worldwide.

During the course of our country's history, nationalities never remained in isolation, but moved and cooperated for various reasons. Accordingly, can such Ethiopians, the

product of a common history, be divided as the Weyanes and secessionists allege they can? Can we look upon each other as members of this or that nationality or this or that belief? Can we deny that every one of us, individually and collectively, are united as Ethiopians? Does not trying to identify an individual as belonging to a particular tribe constitute an act of self-alienation? It is impossible to separate a part of the body from any other; there is no greater national or international crime than trying to divide the Ethiopian nations which have been united by centuries of coexistence. This is what Ethiopia's unity means, and it is this unity, based on equality and mutual prosperity, that we are trying to perfect. Trying to destabilize coexistence in unity instead of trying to build it on a democratic foundation is to unleash a ceaseless civil and fratricidal war no nation can win.

Dear Deputies: It is clear that our history manifests both our weaknesses and strengths. Whereas we must learn the lessons of our country's past, we must now direct our major attention to its future. Accordingly, if we are honorably to discharge the responsibilities our present and future generations have vested in us, we must mobilize today. Whatever you call it, the situation in our country today is one of either preserving our unity or losing it. The citizens are left with no alternative other than to struggle for Ethiopia's unity and sovereignty or sit back and watch Ethiopia be dismembered and destroyed. There is no time left for hesitation.

The struggle is a multifaceted one. Ethiopians should take the propaganda being so readily disseminated for what it is worth, and a stand should be taken now. Working hard to leave behind something of benefit to oneself and compatriots in the economic and social sector and fighting with Ethiopian fervor on all fronts where the enemy is overtly or covertly bleeding the country are challenges calling for the unreserved participation of all genuine citizens.

This National Shengo, having properly assessed the current situation in our country and discussed ways of urgently reversing that situation which is threatening the next generation as well as our own, is expected to map out a strategy embracing all these trends. Although the entire people are not present at this forum, they will have to decide their destiny and that of their country in essence and practical terms. This stance is not one just to be adopted at this decisive moment, but constitutes a task we must accomplish on the basis of the steps we have taken for our unity. This is what must be done to prove that Ethiopia survives.

We have said and done a great deal at several fora, but words and actions are two different things. Currently, deeds are important not words. Discharging this responsibility constitutes the challenge. Everyone knows that every genuine Ethiopian everywhere is determined to maintain the country's peace and unity and see to it that peace, love, care and a generally stable life shall prevail. This is patent, but the question is: How can it be done in



practice? As I tried to explain earlier, desire and wishes are but preludes to action. Everyone knows there are some Ethiopians who have isolated themselves because of a number of grievances.

What must be understood properly here is that whatever those bent on dismembering Ethiopia say, what they are doing in practical terms is dismembering Ethiopia. Our government and party are genuinely struggling to save the country from dismemberment by rallying the people. Is this the wish of the Ethiopian people or not? Has every Ethiopian realized who it is that opposes Ethiopia's unity and peace? What can be achieved if we fail to identify our problems and enemies and understand our goals before we mobilize and take action? Can we truly believe that the groups which have come out with full force to destroy and create havoc can save Ethiopia? Does our policy of equality for nations, freedom of belief, and the country's unity render us obstacles to peace? We are truly puzzled.

Is this Republic the provisional military administration of the Dergue, as our enemies say, or the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia? Is this government owned by one individual, or is it a popular government for which the Ethiopian people have struggled for many centuries and created after 16 years of sacrifice? Are these organizations established and mobilized by anti-Ethiopia forces which have been challenging Ethiopia for many centuries enemies of the country's people or enemies of an individual? Are the struggles and the aims of what we have sacrificed and lost ourselves for in the interests of the Ethiopian people's existence and peace or just in our own interest? We must discuss this issue openly.

It is the enemy's major tactic to denigrate and target the central government in a bid to dismember Ethiopia and scatter the people like a swarm of bees whose hive has been broken. This is very clear. Has this conspiracy received the understanding it is worthy of by all, or are we struggling and making sacrifices for nothing?

In fact, situations arise which should be improvised on, strengthened, and if necessary changed by popular demand and consultations. Such situations exist as just as they have existed in the past. This is a process of life. We remain affected by this phenomenon. It is serious, but in practical terms Ethiopians are culturally disinclined towards bending to flowery words from any direction or towards complacency. We do not believe in that sort of thing. Instead of accepting criticism as it comes, we ought to be able to assess its content as much as possible and try to establish who initiated it and why.

Today, every Ethiopian must examine his conscience to establish whether or not he is prepared practically to participate in bringing the country's aspirations to realization, as opposed to waiting and watching other Ethiopians make sacrifices toward this end. I say this openly: Our unity, existence, sovereignty, and wishes cannot be brought about by the sacrifices of just a few members of

society. We must all die a little, bleed a little, starve a little, and wear poor clothing at times in order to succeed. This is the message that this congress should address to itself and pass on to the people.

It is easy to guess what the consequence of the mobilization by the shabiyyah and the Weyane of all their forces, from shepherd to elite, will be. As the people of Welo, Gonder, and Eritrea spend nights in foxholes and face much suffering and destitution, external observers watching what is going on in other parts of Ethiopia will cast a critical eye in our direction. Inasmuch as this country belongs to all of us, all of us must be thirsty, hungry, and wear poor clothing. There are various forms of division of labor and there are various forms of movements and war tactics, but it is hard to go on in the face of the current situation. That is why I say that our dignity and our country's sovereignty will be decided by our practical participation. That is why this congress has on its agenda the task of assessing the state of the country's defense and security in light of the current situation, as well as the economy, which, like our army, is the target of the enemy. The congress will also assess the issues of peace and politics and adopt appropriate resolutions after exhaustive deliberations. Ethiopia first! Thank you. [applause]

### Shengo Session Turns to Economic Issues

EA2206231090 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 1700 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpt] The fourth regular plenum of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia National Shengo in its morning session today ended its deliberations on national defense. This was the first and major issue on the agenda. After naming a temporary commission which will draft a document for to approve, it went on in the afternoon to the second point on its agenda, which deals with economic matters. After discussing this issue extensively, it wound up its deliberations today after deciding to hold additional discussions tomorrow.

Before it began its discussions on this economic issue, Comrade President Mengistu Haile-Mariam gave an extensive report on the economic situation in light of the coordinated dismembering of the country by the so-called shabiyyah [Eritrean People's Liberation Front] and Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front] groups. Our reporter Getachew Alamirew has the details.

[Getachew] It is clear that the agricultural sector of the economy has a great role to play in satisfying the raw material needs of industry and basic consumer needs. The products of this sector constitute over 90 percent of the country's exports. This sector also constitutes more than 40 percent of GNP and employs about 90 percent of the able citizens in the country. The development of many other economic sectors is based on products from this sector. It is because of this that great efforts have been made to enable the farmer to benefit from modern

technology when allocating budget, investment, and trained manpower, stated Comrade President Mengistu's economic report.

The comrade president pointed out that due to the war intensified by the so-called shabiyah, the Weyane groups' devastation of the economic installations set up by the government, and the direct financial burdens of the war, it has not been possible to achieve the expected development in this sector.

The comrade president went on to say that the target of our enemies is not only the Revolutionary Army and people's militia who are fighting at the front but also our economy. He urged all those concerned to coordinate their knowledge, experience, and ability and work harder.

The comrade president said the economic situation cannot be seen in isolation from the struggle being waged to safeguard the unity and sovereignty of Ethiopia, and gave briefings on other economic matters. [passage omitted]

#### **EPRDF Conditions for 'Immediate Cease-Fire'**

*EA2406165690 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0430 GMT 24 Jun 90*

["Statement" of the Executive Committee of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) issued 23 June—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] Mengistu Haile-Mariam's recent address to the Dergue's Shengo meeting differs somewhat from his speeches over the years, which were full of lies and confused shouting, in that it has nothing concrete in it. What distinguishes it is that it officially exposes the Dergue's covertly disseminated propaganda and the fact that the current government has reached its grossest level of ignorance.

Mengistu's statement to the effect that all of us should get a bit hungry, die a little bit, and suffer a little bit—made as if the Ethiopian people were not already dying, suffering, and starving—shows how ignorant and arrogant the government is. Mengistu Haile-Mariam who told the world that he does not want to kill even a fly has invited the Ethiopian people to a little bit of hunger and a little bit of death as if the death and hunger the people have been facing so far was not enough. What Mengistu's speech boils down to is a false propaganda call against the EPRDF and the Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF], a call for continuing bloodshed, and a call for doom. It was the Dergue that walked out of the peace talks with the TPLF. [passage omitted]

If the Dergue replaces the current government with a transitional government that embraces all political forces, implements all the democratic rights of peoples, and implements an internationally observed cease-fire; tries to solve all Ethiopia's problems democratically and

peacefully in the presence of international observers; and initiates practical action to let the people choose the government they want, then the EPRDF is willing and ready to implement an immediate cease-fire and work with all concerned to bring peace and stability to our country. This basic change and solution could easily be implemented within a week. There is only one way to implement the formula and that is that the Dergue should declare itself ready to implement the abovementioned steps and take practical action. [passage omitted]

The solution is for the Dergue to hand over power to a government embracing all political forces including the Workers Party of Ethiopia, hold internationally supervised elections, and solve all our problems peacefully and democratically at the decision of the people. This is the only way to stop the continuing bloodshed in our country. These steps should be taken quickly, starting next week. The abovementioned solution is easy and rapid, but it has yet to be implemented. [passage omitted]

The EPRDF takes this opportunity to remind and call upon the forces serving the Dergue: you can see what the final end of the Dergue will be in practice. Your leaders have lost their heads and are mapping out a strategy which will doom our country. Do not participate in a crime even worse than the Dergue's previous crimes. Do not perpetrate an unpardonable crime against your people and country. Past crimes are enough. Stand by the people to serve your country and please your people. Take decisive action immediately to get rid of those insane criminals. Participate in the peaceful and democratic transition forum that the EPRDF has proposed. Provided you support this transitional forum program, the EPRDF will cooperate with you in all spheres. Do not stand by the dying Dergue and take (?your people and country to death).

[Signed] Executive Committee of the EPRDF  
[Date] 23 June 1990

#### **OLF Asks TPLF To Dissolve Oromo Group**

*AB2406220090 (Clandestine) Voice of Oromo Liberation in Oromo 1700 GMT 19 Jun 90*

["Statement" issued by the Oromo Liberation Front, OLF, regarding the Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF, organization]

[Excerpts] It will be recalled that news of the establishment of the Oromo People's Democratic Organization [OPDO] between 27-29 April 1990, and its organizational statement and political program were broadcast by the TPLF radio. However, the organizational statement announcing the establishment of the OPDO in TPLF-controlled territory did not reveal that the members of the OPDO were former Ethiopian soldiers captured in battle by the TPLF. On the other hand, the organizational statement and political program broadcast by the so-called OPDO clearly reflected the views of

the TPLF and served to create differences between the OLF and the TPLF. The points made by the so-called OPDO became the reasons for those differences. That is because Ethiopia was formed as an empire, and the Oromo people living in this empire are captive and oppressed and the OLF accordingly believes self-determination to be the legitimate right of the Oromo people, while the TPLF is against this.

Although the two organizations had agreed to support each other and respect their different (?aims), the TPLF sought to persuade OLF to abandon its program and accept that of the TPLF. The OLF believes that no one can stop the Oromo people from achieving their legitimate right to self-determination or its struggle to achieve this (?goal). The OLF is convinced that the Oromo people's political problems can only be solved by the Oromo people.

Having rejected the OLF's program and the Oromo people's right to self-determination, the TPLF attempted to force the OLF to accept the TPLF's program and the Ethiopian unity that organization espouses. The OLF's political program sets out that our struggle is anticolonialist, antifeudalist, and antiimperialist and its main aim is to liberate Oromo territory from all manner of oppression.

All its attempts having (?failed), the TPLF openly condemned the OLF and the Oromo people's liberation struggle. The TPLF engaged in an intensive propaganda campaign, repeatedly stating that the OLF is unable to lead the Oromo people's struggle. Hoping to avert conflict and hoping that the TPLF would correct its mistake, the OLF patiently tolerated the TPLF's propaganda and condemnation. However, the TPLF went on totally to reject the OLF for its firm stance on the liberation of the Oromo people. The TPLF proceeded to condemn the OLF to the Oromos in Sudan, Somalia, and Djibouti, but without success.

By establishing the so-called OPDO composed of captives who have fully accepted its (?ideas) and program within its territory, the TPLF has irrefutably proved that its intention is to confront the OLF and that it secretly intends to decide the destiny of the OLF. [passage omitted]

Using this opportunity, the OLF would like to make it clear that it firmly supports the Tigrayan people's genuine struggle to assert and gain respect of their human rights and right to nationhood. The OLF also believes that the Tigrayan people and democrats will oppose this attempt by the TPLF to damage the struggle for which

the Oromo people have been making sacrifices and the relations between the two peoples.

Also using this opportunity, the OLF wishes to make it clear to the TPLF that only the Oromo people can decide on the Oromo issue. The TPLF can not interfere in their internal affairs or decide on the liberation of the Oromo people. The OLF also states that talks must be held with the OLF to find a solution to the political problem in the region.

With particular reference to the POW's, the OLF points out that it is the TPLF's responsibility to respect the rights of the captives. The OLF requests the TPLF to dissolve the OPDO, which it is using to achieve its go as, and to release the POW's, both Oromos and others. The OLF also requests the TPLF to hold talks on the Oromo POW's who want to go to the OLF liberated areas.

Finally, the OLF strongly (?warns) the TPLF that following only one policy with total arrogance and continuing to act on that policy will stir up troubles for which the TPLF alone will be responsible. [passage omitted]

#### **EPRDF Claims Two Towns 'Liberated'**

EA2406164090 (*Clandestine Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic*  
0430 GMT 24 Jun 90)

[Excerpt] The heroic People's Army of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPDRF]—which has been advancing victoriously for three weeks in southern Welo and (?Mereb) [northern Shewa] in Merhabete Province—captured the towns of Mehal Meda and Molale. Continuing its swift move to the province of Menz na Giske, the heroic EPRDF army has annihilated two brigades of the 11th Army Division. It is reported that Mehal Meda and Molale towns were liberated in the engagement.

On learning of the swift move of our heroic army, the enemy brigades of the First Army Division stationed at Mehal Meda and Rabel withdrew, (?leaving) their equipment behind.

Our heroic army, which has the support of the entire people of Menz na Giske, has killed 595, wounded 870, and captured 1,054 enemy soldiers, thus putting a total of 2,519 enemy soldiers out of action. Our army captured two tanks, one BM-21 rocket launcher, two ZU-23 antiaircraft guns, 21 mortars, 71 medium weapons, 1,578 small arms, 48 radio communication sets, 23 assorted vehicles, and millions of rounds of ammunition. One tank, one ZU-23 antiaircraft gun, and seven vehicles were burned. [passage omitted]



## Madagascar

### \* Creation of New MTPM Party Announced

90AF0168B Antananarivo MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE  
in French 4 May 90 p 2

[Text] No doubt about it, the list of new parties is far from complete. Mr. Telanosy, one of the first Vonjy militants to leave the fold to form his own...trade union, informed us he had received the acknowledgment (No. Oll/90 of 27 April 1990) from the Ministry of the Interior attesting to the legal existence of his new party. It is dubbed the "Malagasy Labor and Patriotic Movement [MTPM]".

According to Mr. Telanosy, the goal of the "Labor Party" (sic) he leads is to eradicate unemployment, one of the scourges of today's society, while militating for social equality. The MTPM is also fighting for the socio-economic liberation of the rural masses, while opposing rural flight which, in his opinion, considerably curtails the number of hands needed to upgrade the status of peasant farmers.

In his statement, Mr. Telanosy points out that "the founding members of the MTPM are none other than those who already supported the candidacy of Mr. Didier Ratsiraka in the presidential election of 12 March 1989 and still defend his policy in the interests of all."

"However," he stressed, "the MTPM intends to carry out its own policy more autonomously in order to give greater impetus to the process of a harmonious development centered around Madagascar itself."

Telanosy's "labor" party will hold a press conference soon during which he will talk more about its short- and long-term programs.

## Mauritius

### \* Duval Seeks Alliance With PT, CAM, PSM

90AF0170A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN  
in French 5 May 90 p 12

[Article by Raj Gowrea]

[Text] Sir Gaetan Duval, the leader of the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party], would like to see his party establish a common political platform with the Labor Party [PT], the PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] led by Harish Boodhoo, and the CAM [Moslem Action Committee].

Giving a brief survey of the political scene at a press conference yesterday, Sir Gaetan Duval stated that after the events of 1 May, the "patched-up" alliance between the government's two parties would be "short-lived," which implies, as he sees it, that the Labor Party will move closer to the PMSD. He went on to add that the PMSD will act as an intermediary to foster understanding between the Labor Party and the PSM, whereas the CAM's alignment is already assured with regard to the deeply held goal of achieving a broad electoral alliance.

In addition, the PMSD leader spoke about the employee dismissals at the CEB [Central Electricity Board] and set 22 May as the deadline for their rehiring, the same day on which a motion of censure against the government is scheduled for debate. Said Sir Gaetan Duval, there is one thing on which the Labor Party cannot back down: If the government has not intervened by 22 May to reinstate the laid-off employees, the Labor Party will have no other moral right but to vote against the motion or else lose all credibility. He also announced on this occasion that the PMSD will sign the petition to which it will append a clause in support of reinstating Ben Frappier and the 21 workers dismissed by Meridien.

On the possibility of a rapprochement between the Labor Party and the PMSD, Sir Gaetan expressed the view that all the necessary conditions are already in place. He mentioned, among several examples, that the Labor electorate "has lost confidence in the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement];" that Sir S. Boolell is well-liked by PMSD supporters and vice versa; that "the young Turks in the Labor Party" are more favorable to the alliance, particularly since "Arvin Boolell received a spontaneous ovation at our rally."

Sir Gaetan also stated that the two parties concur in their thinking on several topics: the abolition of the exit tax, which the PMSD has long called for, and the effort to obtain the reinstatement of the striking workers dismissed by the CEB. All of that is a clear indication that the Labor Party and the PMSD "are on the same wavelength," Sir Gaetan emphasized.

Sir Gaetan did not fail to draw attention to the warm welcome he was given by the Labor Party in Coromandel, just as Arvin Boolell was warmly welcomed at the PMSD rally. "Fortunately, I had a tight grip on the wheel of my car. Otherwise, the 'Reds' would have spirited me away," said Sir Gaetan.

In conclusion on that subject, Sir Gaetan stated that "with a reinvigorated Labor Party and a renewed PMSD, our chances of returning to power are very real."

In other matters, Sir Gaetan stated that the large turnout at the rally held by the "Blues" was a source of great satisfaction to him as was his own release from custody, which was made possible by SSB [Sir S. Boolell], the attorney-general and thus the sole minister authorized to advise the DPP [Director of Public Prosecution]. He believes that his arrest could have disrupted the social peace and might have even triggered a destabilization.

### \* Duval Responds to Verdict on Adelaide Case

90AF0170BA Port Louis LE MAURICIEN  
in French 4 May 90 p 5

[Interview with Sir Gaetan Duval, leader of the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party], at his home in Floreal on 3 May 1990, by Jacques David; first paragraph is LE MAURICIEN introduction]

[Text] "I suspected what Judge Hossen's verdict would be. I don't intend to comment on a ruling in a preliminary enquiry. As the accused, but also as a lawyer, I expected the verdict and that is why my lawyers and I are prepared to respond to this ruling and seek a judicial review. My lawyer, by the way, the one who will represent me before the Queen's Privy Council, is arriving today," said a relaxed Sir Gaetan Duval. He had just finished meditating when we met him last evening at his home in Floreal, a few hours after Judge Rashid Hossen announced his decision at the court in Flacq. Our interview was interrupted by countless visits and telephone calls. Relatives and friends arrived in steady stream to express their support for the leader of the PMSD and he repeated his thanks to one supporter after another over the telephone. The full interview appears below.

[David] Sir Gaetan Duval, this morning you heard Judge Hossen issue his ruling in the Azor Adelaide case. What are your feelings?

[Duval] First of all you must already know that because I have been charged in this matter and because I am a lawyer, I am bound by duty to limit my remarks. I am not free to comment on the ruling after my friend and lawyer, Yousouf Mohamed, spoke to the press on all aspects of the case this morning. I very calmly awaited the verdict. I had been expecting it ever since I knew that the "case" had been put forward. I assumed it had been done to prevent us from organizing our plans for 7 May. To explain my calm, I can tell you that before the ruling was issued, we had already drawn up our grounds for appeal. In legal jargon, we call that a "judicial review" and we are ready to proceed with it. We will appeal it to the Supreme Court, setting out the reasons why the judge's conclusions should be rejected. A number of points will be put forward. I do not know whether you have read the points brought out by Professor Robert Garron and the lawyer Paul Lombard, both eminent jurists, but even if you believed Mr. Shummoogumg, the essential elements were not taken into consideration.

There is also the fact that the judge refused to grant postponements when Mr. Mohamed was ill on two occasions and I myself was unable to follow the proceedings: for example, I was not able to attend Mr. Gilbert Ahnee's deposition and could not even cross-examine him because of an illness and the effects of the sedatives I had been given. Finally, we have other arguments to advance. Under our current laws, the Supreme Court will hear this case and if we are not satisfied at that level, we will take it to the Queen's Privy Council.

[David] So, you were not surprised as you listened to the verdict?

[Duval] We were expecting it. Among other things, the judge had not wanted to explain his refusal to hear Mr. Mohamed's arguments. That ruling was certainly not well-founded.

[David] This morning, in front of your supporters at the court in Flacq, you called out the words, "Not worried." So in your view, this is not the end of it?

[Duval] That was definitely not the end of the case. I am perfectly innocent and we know that no court could uphold such arguments.

[David] What course do you think things will take now? After all, there is a political element to this case.

[Duval] Naturally, it is a double-edged sword. As you can guess, I would have certainly been more at ease had the case been dismissed and completely erased, with no further mention of it by the people of Mauritius. This is the first time in my life and in my career—which has had its ups and downs—that so many people have gone out of their way to express such great support for me. It is certainly dreadful for our society, for Mauritius. Short of questioning the judge's good faith, the public cannot help but wonder. This is extremely dangerous! Not only were lawyers denied opportunities to be heard; not only were we kept from putting questions to people because of my illness and my attorney's absence. There were also statements made by the prime minister who wanted to look like the decisionmaker.... I recall having once said that it will be a very, very sad day when Mauritius stops believing in the integrity of its judicial system. The consequences are very, very serious.

[David] Do you feel that the verdict makes this the worst thing to happen to you in your long political career?

[Duval] No. I see the verdict as a passing incident and I do not attach much importance to it. As long as there are judges in Berlin...

[David] At this point in time, do you still have your seat in parliament? Do you still enjoy your privileges? Will you carry on with your profession as before?

[Duval] I am innocent until proven guilty. That is the very foundation of our legal tradition and our Constitution. In any event, it must be realized that a ruling in a preliminary enquiry is not a conviction. I was not convicted. I am not appealing a conviction. I have merely been charged and the judge is merely saying that a reasonable jury could possibly find me guilty.

[David] Some say that this was the first time an attorney general has intervened to bring about a release on bail...

[Duval] No, no, no. I have served as minister of justice. It is true that the director of public prosecution is the only one who can approve the release. To explain, it is said that the director was the only one to object to my release on bail. But there is nothing to say that the attorney general cannot advise the director on certain aspects of a case. That is perfectly normal. I did so when I was minister of justice. I recall that during trials involving the Public Order Act, the question of the defendants' release was discussed. It is fairly normal for the director of public prosecution to consult with the attorney general. But what happened is that the attorney general was cut out of the picture and the prime minister



decided in his place. However, the attorney general, Sir Satcam Boolell, has re-entered the picture and is going to insist on proper procedures so that he will be the one to consult with the director of public prosecution (and similarly, with the solicitor general), not the prime minister.

[David] And what do you foresee happening on the political scene, Sir Gaetan Duval?

[Duval] Well, I believe things will happen very quickly. I foresee [Prime Minister] Jugnauth continuing to be the greatest destabilizing threat to his own government. I still remember what Ramjuttun said to him not long ago. He had won the elections in La Caverne/Phoenix and had spent a great deal of money and effort. But he decided he wanted to have Gaetan Duval arrested. Ramjuttun said to him, now that you are "on top of the waves," a "king," a "god," why do you want to arrest Gaetan Duval and stir up "problems?" He threw Ramjuttun and his arguments out. He was destabilizing his regime, but wanted to push ahead with it. He had done it to others, he did it to me and now I know that he will do it to Boolell. He insisted that the PT [Labor Party] hold a separate rally and now he has destabilized his government. We knew the real adversaries of the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement] during the 1 May events were the Labor Party's supporters. I attended the Labor Party's rally and I received an ovation.

As of now, one of two things has to happen: Boolell, who promised his supporters he would not take any more humiliations, will either speak up and insist on his prerogatives, which are very significant since he is deputy prime minister, minister of justice, and minister of foreign affairs.... But he will have to be demanding. Not that the prime minister should not discuss foreign policy matters. He cannot avoid discussing foreign policy, but should do so only after consulting with his minister of foreign affairs. However, he should not be saying that along with the Seychelles and Madagascar, he at odds with the United States and Great Britain, that we will have to go to war against them, etc. That sort of thing must be highly embarrassing for Boolell. I hope that Sir Satcam Boolell will demand full charge of Mauritian diplomacy and that it is one of his prerogatives. I also hope that he will not attempt to travel too often and for too long at a time because his troops need his leadership and his absence could be demoralizing to his supporters.

[David] On the immediate horizon—on 22 May, to be exact—there will be a vote on the motion of censure introduced by the opposition leader, Dr. Nababsing. Will you personally participate in the debates?

[Duval] Not only will I participate, but I have also asked all the party's deputies to take the floor, each one addressing a specific issue. For history, I think that everything that is being said in the press, in the rallies, and across the country, should be said in the Legislative Assembly so that it will be put on the record.

[David] Sir Gaetan Duval, with your experience of political party alliances (good and bad), what do you foresee happening among the various parties on the political scene?

[Duval] If you know the Jugnauth of 1990, if you have been watching him somewhat, you could say that he will try to slip out of sight for a while, his tail between his legs, but you know he will be back in no time. That is his nature. And you also know that sooner or later, he will have to make another attack on the Labor Party. But this time, the Labor party is not about to take the humiliation. I sense that general elections will be held next year. I do not see any government or prime minister that is happy with the situation. Let us not forget that the prime minister got rid of Gayan, Pillay, and many others, mostly because they were thinking people who did not want to play along as yes-men like everyone else. He went to all extremes to keep us apart. With Boolell, he used to be on good terms but now that the Labor Party is ready to fight back, he will have a difficult time of it. I know the man: He will say that general elections are going to take place and so what if you win or lose? "Whatever will happen, will happen." In that respect, I think his rally on 1 May [in Vacoas] was a lesson in reality for him. With my own eyes I saw young people arrive in Vacoas by the busload and get down from the buses, which had been put at their disposal, only to turn right around and take another means of transportation out of Vacoas. The rally was attended mostly by the elderly and children whose seat cushions must have been gifts from Ramjuttun. In short, he had spent a lot of money and once the rally was over, some received a serious tongue lashing. For the time being, the prime minister is going to try to maintain a low profile.

In other matters, it took a lot of doing to bring Dr. Prem Nababsing to produce his motion of reprimand, which means that an alliance between the MSM and the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] is unlikely, at least for the time being. The alliance with the Labor Party still exists and that seems to be the direction for a while, until the dust settles in this whole situation.

[David] In hindsight, looking at everything that is happening, particularly in view of the analysis you have just given, don't you feel somewhat responsible for what is happening today?

[Duval] I know... But my departure from the government was prompted by what I felt was a bias in Jugnauth. I left. I know that if I had stayed on, Jugnauth would have taken it to mean that we would put up with anything he did. If I had taken everything he said against me, I could never have held my head high. And I know that it just would not have worked!...even though I know that our withdrawal from the government had repercussions on myself, my sister, my brother, and on all of us. The country suffers from it. But I also know that the country had to wake up and it is better to wake up with a nasty start than to drift from a deep sleep into a comatose

state. If I had not come to my senses, Mauritius would have fallen into a coma. Mauritians have since regained their senses.

[David] And what will happen at tomorrow's rally?

[Duval] It is a demonstration and gathering, more than a rally. I will speak early on. There will not be many speakers, by the way. I will use the opportunity to clarify matters and announce the party's future activities. In any case, today we are going to discuss future direction and review the party's plan of action. Activities are going to be stepped up. The foreign press is already calling us. Telephone calls are coming in from all over. There are so many things. As I said earlier, if Jugnauth had not come up with the Duval affair to destabilize his government, he would have invented something else.

**\* Duval on Resisting Magistrate's Ruling**

90AF0141B Port Louis WEEK-END in French  
6 May 90 p 3

[Article: "Adelaide Affair: Three Options for the DPP"; first four paragraphs are WEEK-END introduction]

[Text] Magistrate Rashid Hossen, who presided over the second preliminary inquest into the death of Azor Adelaide, issued his findings last Thursday: there is sufficient evidence to commit Sir Gaetan Duval and Jacques David to stand trial. "I hereby commit Sir Gaetan Duval and Jacques David to stand trial before the Supreme Court under Section 57 of the District and Intermediate Courts Act."

In a move unprecedented in Mauritian judicial annals, however, he also agreed to a motion that the two defendants be set free on bail.

After Sir Gaetan's release, a crowd of enthusiastically cheering supporters gathered in front of the courthouse at Flacq to carry him off in triumph.

In the following hours, Duval and his lawyers prepared an affidavit, which was sworn out the next day, asking the Supreme Court to reverse Magistrate Hossen's decision. The affidavit, which contains numerous grounds for appeal, reads like an indictment.

The leader of the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party], Sir Gaetan Duval, has drawn up a virtual "indictment" against Magistrate Rashid Hossen in an affidavit sworn out on Friday before the chief registrar of the Supreme Court. Sir Gaetan, who could be forced to stand trial in criminal court as a result of the findings issued by the inquest magistrate, submitted the affidavit in an effort to persuade the Supreme Court to issue a "writ of certiorari," in the hope that the decision of the Flacq magistrate will be "quashed, reversed, and set aside," to quote from the affidavit.

"Certiorari" is legal jargon for the procedure whereby a higher court reviews the record of proceedings in a lower court.

The document prepared by Mr. Bucktowonsing and sworn to by Sir Gaetan asserts that the magistrate acted wrongly in refusing to stop the inquest and rejecting the defense motion for a verdict of "no case to answer." The affidavit also speaks of a lack of evidence 20 years after the events, the lack of evidentiary exhibits, and the inability of witnesses to recall facts going back to 1971.

The document also asserts that despite Duval's poor health, documentary proof of which had been presented, despite the fact that he was under strong sedation and thus unable to follow the unfolding judicial proceedings, much less participate in his own defense—despite all of this the magistrate insisted on hearing the testimony of Mr. Gilbert Anhee, a "material witness," and moreover did so while the defense attorney was out of the courtroom.

The magistrate refused to adjourn a session of the preliminary inquest to allow interrogation of Mr. Kathapermal, described as "a most material witness." The magistrate also allowed into evidence certain statements imputed to Jacques David, even though the latter contested them.

Sir Gaetan asserted, finally, that the magistrate's findings "are perverse and so is the verdict." He therefore requested authorization to argue his writ before the Supreme Court.

**\* Boolell on PT Demands, Political Views**

90AF0141A Port Louis WEEK-END in French  
6 May 90 pp 5, 12

[Interview with Sir Satcam Boolell, head of the PT [Labor Party], by Michel Dedans: "Boolell Says PT Is As Strong as MSM"; date and place not given; first paragraph is WEEK-END introduction]

[Text] The alliance between the PT and the MSM [Mauritian Socialist Movement] will never be the same in wake of the 1 May political rallies. First, the PT is going to tap the MSM for 30 of the 60 seats in the upcoming legislative elections because Sir Satcam Boolell believes his own party is as strong as the one headed by Sir Anerood Jugnauth. Next, he told Michel Dedans the PT will insist on a larger voice in choosing the heads of the parastatal bodies (it currently picks one of them). Finally, in the next alliance government, the party flatly rules out settling for the ministries it is currently allotted: it wants more important ones. In the following interview, Boolell gives us further insight into his thinking.

[WEEK-END] Sir Satcam Boolell, were you surprised by the size of the crowd that attended your May Day rally?

[Boolell] No. I was expecting a big crowd. We did a lot of work on the ground in the days preceding the rally, and we had seen encouraging indications that a large crowd would attend. Every day we got calls from all over the country, which meant our appeal had been heard.

[WEEK-END] What will be the new basis of relations between the PT and the MSM in the governing alliance? Are you going to throw your partner for a loop in the weeks and months ahead and make life miserable for him?

[Boolell] Nothing has changed in the alliance or in the government. We will honor the commitment we made to our partner and the country to work together up to 1992. But in the wake of the May Day rally, it goes without saying that anything having to do with post-1992 arrangements must be seen in a new light. For the situation is not the same; the balance of forces has changed. The terms of any renewal of the alliance beyond 1992 will have to be renegotiated. If we reach an accord, the MSM and the PT, then we will be together again. If not, I regret to say, then we will have to go our separate ways.

[WEEK-END] On what basis would you agree to negotiate renewal of the MSM-PT alliance beyond 1992? What conditions would you impose on your partner?

[Boolell] It is still too early to say, since we still have two years in which to find an ideal formula for the two partners. But one thing is clear: there can be no question of our accepting 18 seats, as we did in 1987, now that the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] is no longer in the alliance. The same logic applies to the ministries. We must have more than the "leftovers." We should get several important ministries, as well as chairmanships of the boards of directors of the parastatal bodies. At present, we only have one chairmanship. So it is out of the question for our partner to take everything and leave us only crumbs.

### Thirty Seats for the PT

[WEEK-END] If you are not willing to accept 18 seats in the next elections, will you go so far as to demand 50 percent from the MSM, in other words, 30 of the 60 available seats?

[Boolell] Why not?

[WEEK-END] So you think your party is as strong as the MSM in electoral terms?

[Boolell] Very nearly, to judge by our rally last Tuesday. We had some 15,000 people, notwithstanding the location, the "Sunray" at Coromandel, and the other constraints noted in my press conference. And the crowd was enthusiastic. It was composed of supporters who are going to be very active when they get back to their homes. I have learned to judge the audience in such rallies. You have to be able to read the signs and interpret them. That was a very spirited crowd.

[WEEK-END] The PT is speaking with a new voice today. It has spruced itself up and become more demanding. Is this the result of the rally?

[Boolell] No. We were thinking along these lines well in advance of the rally, but we must admit that the rally last Tuesday has put some wind in our sails.

[WEEK-END] You said at the rally that the PT may not be the locomotive, but neither is it going to be the caboose anymore. What is it, then?

[Boolell] What I meant was that the two partners are equal. That in future the PT is not going to play the same role as in 1987. Otherwise, it is going to disintegrate. A great deal of work has been done by a team that today is harvesting the fruits of their labors. Their wishes must be taken into account.

[WEEK-END] So your partner, the MSM, already understands the new rules of the political game in the alliance. In case you do not reach an understanding with the prime minister's party, what other options are open to the PT in terms of partnerships for the upcoming 1992 elections?

[Boolell] There is no hurry. We have plenty of time. Many things can happen between now and the next elections. For now, we have a partner, the MSM, with which we are working. And we have not yet talked about negotiations. Let us be patient.

[WEEK-END] Do you plan to consider the proposals publicly made to you by the PMSD about a grand alliance that would also include Boodhoo's PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] and Mohamed's CAM [Muslim Action Committee]?

[Boolell] No. It would be dishonest on our part, at a time when we are still allied with a partner in the government, to go negotiate with other parties. That would mean our loyalties were divided. I have always been fair, honest, and sincere. So I could not do that. The day I feel the need to enter into negotiations with another party, I will have to resign from the government.

### No Friction

[WEEK-END] Have you scheduled a summit meeting between yourself and Jugnauth to discuss the new basis of relations between the two partners and negotiations on extension of the alliance beyond 1992?

[Boolell] No. We will discuss that at the right time and place. This is not the propitious moment. We must let things settle out a bit; both sides should come to it with cool heads. As I said, there is no hurry, especially since Jugnauth himself said last Thursday that there is no friction within the government. Despite the fact that there has been a little excitement between MSM and PT partisans. Such things must be discussed with cool heads.



[WEEK-END] Do you have a timetable in mind, in other words do you expect to have such a meeting before or after the budget is passed?

[Boolell] There is no precise timetable. It could be done before or after the budget.

[WEEK-END] Wild rumors are being spread as a result of some other surprising things that came out of the May Day rally, for example, when you spoke publicly for the first time about the departure tax on sugar, liberalization of exchange controls, and the rehiring of the 14 employees dismissed by the CEB [Central Electricity Board]. How do you explain these positions, which go against the policy of the government of which you are a member?

[Boolell] There was no contradiction in what I said. I spoke on behalf of my party, and I said nothing that contradicts the government's policy. With regard to abolition of the departure tax, that is only my own personal proposal, and one which deserves to be studied. I asked that the money saved, some 260 million rupees per year, be used to increase the wages of the sugar industry workers, since officials in that sector do not think the benefits they have been granted should be used to improve the "camps" in which their workers live. The money should also be used to support agricultural diversification and improvement of worker housing. It should be understood that this is only a proposal by the PT, and I will not resign from the government if the tax is retained. Similarly, I will say that the question of liberalizing exchange controls should be carefully studied. I spoke about this with the minister of finance. I would like to share his optimism, for personally I am a little anxious. Primarily about the possibility that this measure will lead to capital flight, and thus to a depletion of our foreign currency reserves, especially since we are experiencing a deficit in the balance of trade. I do not want us to end up like Seychelles, where there are no official exchange controls but where the Seychelles Central Bank tightens the screws whenever requests for travel abroad reach a worrisome level. As for rehiring the people laid off at CEB, what could be more natural? After all, it was not the government that dismissed them.

#### No Conflict With the Prime Minister

[WEEK-END] Then how would you explain the PT's decision to sign the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] petition calling for the men to be rehired?

[Boolell] You see, the petition is addressed to the directorate of the CEB, which is being asked to hire back those workers, though they may be subject to some disciplinary action. But people should not be punished forever. Of course I realize that they were a little obstinate during the strike and that hurt them. But we must also recognize that they were not able to control their general assembly, which dictated their action. So we are asking the CEB to take them back. And on that question there is no conflict between me and the prime minister.

[WEEK-END] Are you planning to vote for the motion censuring the MMM that is to be debated on 22 May?

[Boolell] That would be to vote against myself, because I am part of the government. I will not vote for a motion to censure the MMM.

[WEEK-END] The MMM and the other opposition parties are asking you and your party to seize this opportunity to quit the government and thereby force early general elections. They tell you it is now or never. Do you find the idea tempting?

[Boolell] No. What is the point of forcing early elections? I see no justification for doing so. None. Especially since that is not the PT's way of doing things. We have standards of conduct that we will not change.

[WEEK-END] Sir Gaetan Duval and the others are telling you this is a golden opportunity, especially after your May Day rally, to part ways with Jugnauth and cause the government to fall.

[Boolell] The other political parties are free to comment for themselves and issue their calls. But we in the PT honor our commitments, and we will carry out our responsibilities to the end. We are not going to commit such foolish acts merely because the balance of power has changed.

[WEEK-END] Is it true that you threatened to resign from the government if Mr. Vijay Makhani were not named ambassador to the EEC and Mr. Raymond Chasle awarded a two-year contract?

[Boolell] That is false. How could I fight for a decision that had already been approved by the governor general?

#### Instigators

[WEEK-END] You have also accused certain individuals close to the prime minister of instigating efforts to damage the alliance. Who are they, and what are you going to do about them?

[Boolell] I will not name names. I will do so when I go to talk about the subject with the prime minister.

[WEEK-END] In the Azor Adelaide affair, the findings issued by Magistrate Hossen last Thursday made quite a stir. Have you written to the DPP [Director of Public Prosecutions] to ask him to release Sir Gaetan Duval on bail?

[Boolell] I have not written any letter to the DPP, since he is an employee of the Ministry of Justice, for which I am responsible. But I spoke to him in my capacity as attorney-general to ask him to study the possibility of releasing Sir Gaetan Duval on bail if the findings of Magistrate Hossen were unfavorable for him. What I did was perfectly legal. The case concerns a politician, and several public rallies had been held over the issue, before 1 May, and people everywhere were in a ferment about it. One had to be careful not to make a mistake. I cannot

abdicate my responsibilities. But my intervention was limited to that one suggestion, nothing else. The final decision rested with the DPP and him alone. I should also say that a Supreme Court decision has now made it possible for people to be set free on bail. But not just anyone, of course.

[WEEK-END] Did you ever discuss the possibility of declaring a state of emergency?

[Boolell] Never. No, never!

[WEEK-END] Some surprises on the PT front: from resignations in the MSM ranks to a former governor general, Sir D. Burrenchobay.

[Boolell] There were only two resignations from the MSM, Mr. Bundhun and Mr. Gayan. Wasn't it the MSM that recruited people like Glover, Ghurburrun, and Seetaram, who abandoned me in 1984? As for the former governor general, he has always been sympathetic to labor. But apart from a small knot of people around the PMSD, who in this country has not been sympathetic to labor? Those who today are in the MSM and the MMM, and even the PSM, have they not all been laborites at some point in their lives? Later on they left the laborite family. I, too, would like to see the great laborite family reunited. For we are the root: the others are the branches, and so they will remain. But we are the root.

#### \* Nababsing Denounces 'Repressive' MMM Methods

90AF0171A Port Louis LE MILITANT MAGAZINE  
in French 21-22 Apr 90 p 3

[Article entitled: "Nababsing Denounces Jugnauth's Authoritarian and Brutal Methods"; first paragraph is editor's lead]

[Text] The MMM (Mauritian Militant Movement) and opposition leader Dr. Prem Nababsing put last Tuesday's walk-out [preceding word published in English] by the parliamentary group MMM into proper perspective during a press conference yesterday morning. Flanked by MM. Paul Berenger, Dharam Fokeer, Jean-Claude de l'Estrac, and Alan Ganoo, Dr. Nababsing vehemently declared that last Tuesday's incident was not an isolated one, but illustrates the authoritarian and arrogant manner in which Sir Anerood Jugnauth and his government run the country. Furthermore, Dr. Nababsing challenged Sir Anerood Jugnauth to make public the copy of a so-called motion of censure against the MMM leadership originating in regional No. 8.

The MMM leader enumerated three principal points to demonstrate the authoritarian and repressive manner with which the prime minister has governed the country since 1983.

1) The brutal and repressive attitude meant to weaken trade unions and unionists: The prime minister's attitude toward CEBSA [Central Electric Board] leaders symbolizes this tendency.

2) The antipress laws and ADSU's [Antidrug Suppression Unit?] recent decision forbidding two reporters to leave the country.

3) The way NIU [National Intelligence Unit] agents terrorize partisans of the Labor Party, a government partner whose leader is the country's vice-prime minister.

Dr. Nababsing pointed out that ministers and the prime minister behave the same way in Parliament. "Answers are given arrogantly and some are not given at all," said the MMM leader (see the following interview with Dr. Prem Nababsing) [not shown]. Dr. Nababsing remarked that the manner used by the prime minister to answer Mr. Alan Ganoo's question last Tuesday was the straw that broke the camel's back. "In the past, we have gotten answers to identical questions," said Dr. Nababsing, noting that two detailed responses were given on two occasions, in April and November, last year.

The MMM leader called attention to the fact that Mr. Ganoo's question was a follow-up to two previous questions. Dr. Nababsing said the MMM is interested in the question, because abuse of ministerial junkets abroad, both in terms of numbers and length of stay, has been noted for the last two years. "In fact, the number and duration of these foreign trips is scandalous," asserted Dr. Nababsing, emphasizing that between January and November of 1989, these travels cost the state 6 million rupees.

Dr. Nababsing disclosed that the prime minister has detailed information on these junkets and does not want to make it public because:

1) the sum spent is greater than 6 million rupees and

2) figures showed that Sir Satcam Boolell topped the list in November with 1.2 million rupees, and that this time, because the vice-prime minister did not travel at all, it is the MSM (Malagasy Socialist Movement) ministers, notably Dulloo, Lutchmeenaraidoo, Gungah, Utchanah, and others Parsooramen [as published], who head the list.

The MMM leader also replied to the prime minister who, in public meetings, cites a so-called motion to censure the MMM leadership. "It is completely false and ridiculous. There is no motion," said Dr. Nababsing. The MMM leader contended that the prime minister was behaving naively, because he was allowing himself to be manipulated by false information from the NIU. "The prime minister would do well to take another look at his intelligence agents in No. 8 and 18," said the MMM leader.

#### \* Police Budget Continues To Increase

90AF0171B Port Louis LE MILITANT MAGAZINE  
in French 21-22 Apr 90 p 5

[Article entitled: "The Police Forces Crash Through Its Budget Ceiling"; first paragraph is LE MILITANT MAGAZINE introduction]



[Text] During fiscal year 1988/89, the Police Force Department spent an additional sum of 88,217,048 rupees. The budget provided for 367,225,000 rupees, but at the close of fiscal year 1988/89, expenditures totaled 455,442,048 rupees. Parliament approved these additional expenditures by adopting The Supplementary Appropriation (1988-89) Bill [preceding four words published in English] last Tuesday.

The jump in the police force budget between 1982/83 and today has been mindboggling. No other government department, with the exception, perhaps, of the item for

ministerial junkets abroad, has soared as high. For fiscal year 1982/83, Parliament had approved a budget of 157,325,000 rupees for the police force. For the current fiscal year, the budget totals 500,000,000 rupees, or an increase of nearly 350,000,000 in seven years.

Since 1983, the government has allocated huge budgets for the police. It is stressed in official circles that, for the last two or three years, the police force has spent a great deal for the purchase of weapons and other sophisticated military equipment.

**Liberia****Rebels Capture Careysburg City Near Monrovia**

AB2206141490 Paris AFP in English 1347 GMT  
22 Jun 90

[Text] Monrovia, June 22 (AFP)—Liberian rebels fighting to oust President Samuel Doe have captured Careysburg city 20 miles (30 kilometers) from the capital Monrovia, independent reports said here Friday.

Careysburg was the last major town on the National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels' way to the capital. A large Voice of America relay station is located in the area.

Residents of the city said Friday they could not return because the NPFL had occupied their homes.

The residents said their attempts to return have failed because government security forces stationed five miles outside Careysburg turned them back because it was "dangerous" to travel further.

Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier could neither confirm nor deny reports of fighting at Careysburg when contacted by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Friday.

**Rebels Allegedly Sentence About 100 To Death**

AB2206161590 Paris AFP in English 1523 GMT  
22 Jun 90

[Text] Monrovia, June 22 (AFP)—The Liberian Council of Churches (LCC) is organizing a third peace march for Tuesday [26 Jun] to condemn executions and harassment among ethnic groups by rebels and government troops at war since December, church sources said here Friday [22 Jun]. Church leaders denounced the "continuous intimidations, summary executions and harassment of Mandingoes, Krahn's, Gios and Manos" at the rebel-held Bong mines and in Rivercess County and other areas. The rebels were Friday said to be within 30 kilometres (19 miles) of Monrovia. The march will also condemn the "atrocities and continuous harassment by soldiers" in and around the capital. LCC sources added that a prayer service would be held Monday for a successful outcome to peace talks due that day in Freetown.

Government officials and rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPLF) held a first round of talks in the capital of neighbouring Sierra Leone earlier this month, agreeing to exercise "restraint" but failing to reach a ceasefire accord.

Travellers fleeing from the Bong Mining Company area 70 kilometres (44 miles) north of here Friday said the rebels had set up three tribunals in the region and a already sentenced about 100 people to death, executing them for "crimes against the people." The travellers told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that those executed included prominent area residents, local school administrators, members of President Samuel Doe's Krahn tribe and Mandingoes, a

group of Moslem traders accused of supporting the government. A local chief who asked not to be named said the West German-run Bong mines were in a state of "chaos," with a total breakdown of law and order, as police and other security personnel had fled.

The rebels, led by fugitive former civil servant Charles Taylor, have also captured Careysburg, 30 kilometres (some 19 miles) north of here, independent sources said Friday. Residents told AFP that the rebels had taken over their homes. Careysburg was the last major town on the rebels' way to the capital of this West African state.

The decision to hold Tuesday's peace march, the third in three weeks, was taken at the end of a meeting Thursday under the auspices of church leaders, which gathered representatives of the press union of Liberia, labour unions, the bar association and other professional groups. March organizers said they expected 25,000 people to take part.

**Doe Resignation Discussed During March Planning**

AB2206182790 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Another peace march is expected to be staged in Monrovia next week under the umbrella of the inter-faith mediation committee. This time, religious and pressure groups in the country will be involved in the march that is expected to draw large crowds. The chairman of the Liberian Council of Churches, Bishop W.N. Dickson, yesterday said next week's march is expected to be held to praise both parties involved in the Freetown talks for the decision to hold further talks. It is also meant to condemn wanton killings reported in other parts of the country and to pray for the success of the peace talks in Freetown next Monday [25 June].

A local daily, quoting Bishop Dickson, said although there has been no reports of killings in the Monrovia area since the last peace march, economic killings by armed men in military uniforms who everyday enter private homes and make away with money and other valuables have persistently continued. Next week's peace march is expected to begin Tuesday [26 June] morning following a prayer service on Monday. All those wishing to take part in the march should gather on the Methodist compound in Sinkor at nine o'clock in the morning.

Many individuals expected to participate in next Tuesday's peace march have suggested that the marchers petition President Doe to resign, since his resignation was the main issue at stake. The suggestions were made yesterday at the United Methodist Church conference center in Sinkor where representatives of various pressure and religious groups had gathered the second peace march in Monrovia. A local daily quoted one speaker as saying: The march would be of no effect while the issue of the president's resignation as demanded by the National Patriotic Front remained unsettled. The

speakers spoke further that President Doe must now make the sacrifice of which he spoke earlier, while another speaker suggested that it was time the Liberian people act to bring about a transitional mechanism, adding the situation is just next door.

Speaking for the inter-faith mediation committee, Bishop Arthur Kular told the meeting that the suggestion to ask President Doe to resign to bring about peace was a good one, but cannot be accepted by his committee on grounds that the committee is only playing a neutral role in the peace talks. He said the role of the church is not to take sides in the talks. Representatives from the Press Union of Liberia, the National Bar Association, the Confederation of Labor Unions, the National Teachers' Association of Liberia, and the Christian Health Association of Liberia were present at the meeting and agreed to take part in the march.

**Bowier: People Should Stop Hiding Behind Taylor**

*AB2206180090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Text] Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier has said Liberian people should stop hiding behind Mr. Charles Taylor and speaking of President Doe's resignation. Why can't the Liberian people say what they want, he asked? Mr. Bowier said that Liberian people should speak out and stand up and say what they want instead of speaking of what Mr. Taylor wants. The information minister made the remarks yesterday in response to a journalist's question on the main demand by the National Patriotic Front that President Doe resigns immediately. A local daily said the minister then repeated that President Doe would resign only if the Liberian people request his resignation. Minister Bowier said the Liberian people could request the resignation of the president or his impeachment through their elected representatives.

**Residents of Ma Barclay Near Monrovia Evacuated**

*AB2306104290 Paris AFP in English 1014 GMT  
23 Jun 90*

[Text] Monrovia, June 23 (AFP)—Residents of Ma Barclay, some 12 miles (19 kilometres) from Monrovia, on Friday [22 Jun] began evacuating the area following independent reports that rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) had captured Careysburg city, the last major town on the highway to Monrovia from the interior.

Several fleeing residents said soldiers had told them to evacuate the area. Many of them were seen parking their belongings in taxi cabs they hired to bring them to Monrovia while others took only few things and started walking towards Monrovia.

Well-armed government troops manning a checkpoint at Ma Barclay told state-controlled television journalists not to go beyond the checkpoint, saying it was not "safe" to

travel to Careysburg. "You could be ambushed if you went further than here," the soldiers said but denied that rebels had run over Careysburg.

An army commander claimed government troops were in Careysburg patrolling the area but gave no details. Soldiers also turned back a driver of a 72-seater bus on its way to state-run university Fendell campus to pick up teaching staff. The campus is about two miles from Ma Barclay.

Large number of troops have moved into the area for a possible attack on rebel-held Careysburg. Residents of Careysburg who managed to flee the area said Friday that the NPFL started evacuating civilians from the area to Kakata, some 40 miles (64 kilometres) from Monrovia. The NPFL captured Kakata one month ago and are said to be in control of the town of about 5,000 inhabitants.

**OAU Team Meets Foreign, Interior Ministers**

*AB2306173190 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1109 GMT 23 Jun 90*

[Text] Liberia's acting foreign minister, George Wallace, has challenged the leaders of West African subregion to strengthen their efforts to safeguard the territorial integrity of their respective countries from external aggression. Mr. Wallace said this would discourage dissident activities in the region. He made the remark during a luncheon recently tenured in honor of the assistant secretary general of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Ahmed Haggag. Mr. Haggag was at the head of a three-man OAU delegation visiting Liberia.

During the delegation's visit to the Internal Affairs Ministry, Acting Minister Thomas Brama informed Mr. Haggag about the efforts by the National Disaster Relief Commission to cater to the needs of displaced citizens and residents of the country. In separate remarks at both ministries, Ambassador Haggag expressed the organization's support for the current negotiations between the Government of Liberia and the National Patriotic Front to restore peace and stability in the country.

**Government Troops Say 79 Rebel Recruits Captured**

*AB2406062890 Paris AFP in English 0151 GMT  
24 Jun 90*

[Text] Monrovia, June 23 (AFP)—Government troops Saturday [23 Jun] captured 79 rebel recruits in the Firestone plantation area, some 56 kilometers (35 miles) from Monrovia and close to Roberts International Airport, state radio said.

It said the arrests were made during operations to clear the area of a "handful of hardened terrorists" of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) fighting to overthrow President Samuel Doe.



The radio quoted a military spokesman as saying the recruits were captured while searching for food.

The captives reportedly said they had been forced to join the NPFL against their will. They were quoted saying that "everyone, including women" were put under the same pressure, and "if you refuse, they kill you."

They said children as young as eight-years-old were among those allegedly forced to join the rebels to carry guns, or act as "spies" by identifying people.

The captives reportedly told a team of military investigators they had personally witnessed the killing of three persons by the NPFL.

The 79 are in "protective custody" pending further investigations. The radio said their names were withheld for their own safety.

The state radio report followed independent reports Friday that Liberian rebels had captured the last major town outside the capital in their bid to unseat Mr. Doe. The reports said the NPFL was just 18 miles (27 kilometers) away from Monrovia after capturing Careysburg on Thursday.

#### **Mediation Committee Leaves for Peace Talks**

*AB2406140090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1200 GMT 24 Jun 90*

[Text] In its continued efforts to restore peace to Liberia, the interfaith mediation committee, headed by Reverend Levee Moulton, is in Sierra Leone, where peace talks between the Liberian Government and the National Patriotic Front are to resume. Other members of the delegation include Bishop Michael Francis of the Catholic Church, Canon Burgess Carr of the Episcopal Church, Bishop Roland Digs of the Lutheran Church of Liberia, and the secretary general of the Muslim Council of Liberia, Kafumba Konnah.

Speaking to journalists yesterday at the James Spriggs Payne Airfield before departure, Rev. Moulton said the committee will meet with leaders of the National Patriotic Front, especially Charles Taylor, before resuming the talks tomorrow, 25 June. He said his committee has already met with President Samuel Kanyon Doe and briefed him on their talks.

Rev. Moulton has meanwhile urged Liberians to remain (?cheerful) as they were doing everything possible to bring an end to the current crisis in the country. The Liberian Government delegation is expected to depart for Freetown today for the peace talks which resume tomorrow, 25 June.

#### **UPP Delegation Leaves For Freetown Peace Talks**

*AB2406095690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 23 Jun 90*

[Text] The United People's Party [UPP] says that its delegation has already left for Freetown, Sierra Leone, in an effort to encourage both the Government of Liberia and the National Patriotic Front to reach a political settlement to the current conflict. The release went on to say that the UPP delegation consists of the national chairman, G. Baccus Matthews; the secretary general, (Alfonso Kwar); together with Mr. Frederick Bass Kokeke, and Mr. Nathaniel Bah. The release said that pending the return of the national chairman, the national vice chairman, Mr. Wesley Johnson, will conduct the affairs of the party.

#### **Ivorian Daily Interviews NPFL's Woewiyu**

*AB2206143490 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN  
in French 22 Jun 90 pp 29-30*

[Interview with Tom Woewiyu, political advisor to Charles Taylor, by FRATERNITE MATIN journalist Noel Yao; date and place not given]

[Text] [Yao] What should I call you? Rebels? Do you accept this term by which you have been called so far?

[Woewiyu] We are not rebels. We are freedom fighters. We are ordinary citizens who are fed up with repression and with the destruction of their property and lives, and who have come together to free their country. Under our Constitution, the people have the right to change the government when it is not working in their interest. That is what we are fighting for.

[Yao] Were the Freetown negotiations about a week ago between Samuel Doe's government and a National Patriotic Front [NPFL] delegation led by you a success or a failure? If they were a failure, what do you think caused it?

[Woewiyu] I would not call the meeting a failure. It was a sincere attempt on our part, as Liberians, and the international community to put an end to the suffering, fighting, and to all the problems confronting the country. We thought we should respond to the international community's appeal to us to hold negotiations for a peaceful solution to the conflict. Doe thought it was time for him to gain time and assemble his troops. He was not in favor of negotiations aimed at solving the conflict. We knew this because he did not allow his representatives at the Freetown meeting discuss certain points that were very important to us. The meeting was meant to give a respite to them, but not to us. We went to the meeting with clear ideas on concessions that we were prepared to make and those we could not make. But, I repeat, Doe's men did not go there to negotiate anything whatsoever. So, we deemed it better to return to our respective headquarters and let the other side secure the authorization to negotiate an end to the war.

I think that the whole world knows that we are capable of doing what we had set out to do since we launched the struggle last December from Boutoua down to the outskirts of Monrovia.

We did not rush on into the capital because it is densely populated (about 1 million inhabitants). We wanted to avoid the destruction of human lives.

At this point in time, we know that no administrative service in Monrovia is functioning any longer. The only thing Doe should do is negotiate modalities for his departure. He is now left with only a handful of butchers, assassins—people who have committed atrocities.

We want the people to organize themselves and ensure their own protection.

[Yao] Unless there is proof to the contrary, Samuel Doe's government sticks to the legitimacy it won in the 1985 elections....

[Woewiyu] In a situation like this, legitimacy no longer functions the same way. His government collapsed because of the resignation of most ministers who see that he has lost control of the situation. The National Assembly is no longer in existence, and representatives and senators are trying to save their lives. In view of this, it is impossible to speak of a legitimate government.

Furthermore, as I said earlier on in this interview, if the people—the citizens—feel that the government is no longer working for the collective good, they have the right to remove that government.

[Yao] Does your organization, the NPFL, enjoy any legitimacy at all? What could it stem from?

[Woewiyu] We are the people, and it is the people who make governments, and a government made by the people is for the people. Our legitimacy stems from the fact that we control 90 percent of the national territory and 99 percent of the Liberian people are on our side in this struggle. They are working hard with us to change the situation.

What other legitimacy would you or could you speak of?

[Yao] The whole world was rather surprised to learn that you had agreed to the principle of negotiations with the Liberian Government whereas you had practically entered Monrovia.

[Woewiyu] This gives you an insight into what kind of people we are. We are not cruel. We know that there is a large concentration of people in Monrovia. So, to march into the capital simply because we want to seize power is really not worthwhile in view of the possible death toll. We have asked our men to stop fighting.

That is what we did. So, it was neither a sign of weakness nor an indication of a change of our objective.

[Yao] President Doe granted you amnesty....

[Woewiyu] No, no. We, instead granted him amnesty. Our president (Mr. Taylor) is the one who granted him amnesty and not the other way around!

Instead of arresting him, trying him, and eventually punishing him, we have been telling him "leave!" This is an amnesty. What he has been saying means nothing.

[Yao] Your troops reportedly killed men and women of the Krahn tribe, what do you have to say about that?

[Woewiyu] The truth is that people need to say bad things about us, especially when it comes to this. Of course we have shot at Liberian Government soldiers and since most of them are Krahns, you understand. We did not kill civilians or people who had nothing to do with the fighting.

If we wanted to kill civilians (Krahns), we would have gone to Grand Gedeh. There was no fighting in Grand Gedeh, because members of our joint chiefs of staff thought that, if such was the case, innocent people would have been killed. We do not want such a thing to happen. So far, we have avoided provocations.

This war has nothing to do with tribalism. I am from the Bassa tribe and Mr. Taylor is Gola and we have men from other tribes.

This is not a tribal war. It is just that Liberians have taken arms to fight and put an end to atrocities.

[Yao] Do you have any plan for the future of Liberia should you come to power?

[Woewiyu] Of course, we do. We are not strangers to Liberian politics. Our objective is to bring the country back to the situation which prevailed in 1980. We want to build a democratic nation and market-oriented economy, where freedom of the press and a free society do exist. We want to hold free and democratic elections.

[Yao] In one year, two years...?

[Woewiyu] First, we must reach Monrovia and then we will see what has to be done. We cannot set any deadline at this stage. We cannot give any schedule now. Our concern is to organize elections as soon as possible.

[Yao] What can you say about the statement by U.S. Assistant Secretary Herman Cohen on the fact that he was not sure of the intentions of the NPFL should you come to power?

[Woewiyu] I have not heard about that statement. If Mr. Cohen said that, I think it is his view. We have been trying to show our good faith to the U.S. Government and tell them who we are. I think that they can check what we have been telling them.

Very soon, we will be able to prove them wrong.

[Yao] You talked of the need to return to the situation in 1980. According to you was the regime of that time a model?

[Woewiyu] We want to speak of the enthusiasm of the people and the determination we had in 1980 when Mr. Doe came to power. We want to build a new society.

[Yao] Mr. Taylor was one of Mr. Doe's closest allies...he was charged with embezzlement when he was a high ranking civil servant...

[Woewiyu] Mr. Taylor was never charged with embezzlement.

In 1983, he tried to overthrow Samuel Doe with the help of other people. He did not succeed and left the country. He was never charged by any court. Now, following the coup attempt and while Mr. Taylor was in the United States, a court, in another town which had no jurisdiction over such a case, issued an extradition warrant to the U.S. authorities. After examination, the U.S. authorities concluded that it was a political, not a legal case.

[Yao] Are there any relations between NPFL and other movements or officials of the opposition such as Mrs. Ellen J. Sirleaf?

[Woewiyu] Our relations are excellent. You spoke of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. She is a friend, a patriot and good ally. Like most Liberians, I think that several political organizations support our struggle against Doe.

After the war, all these organizations will take part in the country's political life.

[Yao] Let us now go back to Monrovia, the capital city. How long before you expect to take power?

[Woewiyu] We already have power. Most of the country is under our control. We control the mines, the main source of revenue (the Bong mines in Nimba County and so on....)

[Yao] How about your relations with Al-Qadhdhafi?

[Woewiyu] Our relations are the same with other African leaders. All of them were fair enough to remain neutral in the conflict. Al-Qadhdhafi helped in no special way. He did not give us arms as was reported. Most of our arms come from government troops. We started the struggle with only two hunting rifles and a machete. What is more, one of the two guns did not work. After three hours of fighting we seized 36 M-16 rifles from government troops (in fact, it was a military unit) at Butuo. That was when we captured our first arms.

[Yao] Does the NPFL today regret all the killing, the death of several thousand people?

[Woewiyu] Of course, we are very sad. I saw our president (Mr. Taylor) cry several times when we visited villages. Each one of us has lost a friend, a parent, and so on....

But, in a way that was the price to pay for our freedom.



**END OF**

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